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THE HISTORY OF *HERODOTUS:*

Tranſlated from the *Greek.*

By ISAAC LITTLEBURY.

VOL. I.

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G.R. III.

PREFACE.

INTENDING to give a ſhort Account of Herodotus, *and of his* Hiſtory *which is here preſented to the Publick in* Engliſh, *I think myſelf oblig'd in the firſt Place to ſay ſomething of Hiſtory in general. For what can be more juſt, than to ſhew the Value and Uſefulneſs of this kind of Writing, when I am to ſpeak of the Man who firſt plac'd it in true Dignity and Luſtre; and by the native Strength of his own Genius rais'd at once that noble and beautiful Structure, which has ſerv'd for a Model to ſucceeding Ages? Before his Time, whatever had the Title of Hiſtory, was, for the moſt part, either Fable and Poetical Fiction; or, at beſt, but a naked Regiſter of publick Events; hardly more than a bare Liſt of the Names of the principal Actors, and of the Places of Action; without Ornament, without Life; affecting the Eye rather than informing the Underſtanding, or moving the Heart, by ſpecifying the Cauſes, Councils, and Circumſtances, which give Riſe to every Action, influence the various Turns, and produce the final Iſſue of all publick Enterprizes.* Herodotus *found out the Art of collecting the rough Materials, ſhaping them in juſt*

Proportion, ranging them in exact Order, and giving the whole Frame majeſtick Beauty and immortal Strength.

I may venture to ſay, that whatever is truly uſeful, cannot but be pleaſing to human Nature. And, as nothing in the World is ſo uſeful and beneficial as Government founded on common Equity and Prudence; ſo nothing is ſo delightful to the Mind, as the Contemplation of the Happineſs of bearing a Part in a well-regulated Community. There is ſuch a Charm in good Order and ſteady Diſcipline, that whole Nations have been raviſh'd with it to ſuch a Degree, as to ſeem for ſeveral Ages, to have been inſenſible of all other Pleaſure: And by how much any Man excell'd others in Elevation and Greatneſs of Soul, by ſo much more was he inflam'd with a Zeal to contribute to the Preſervation of that good Order, and in Conſequence to the general Felicity.

THOSE who are acquainted with the Actions of the ancient Grecians *and* Romans, *will readily aſſent to this Truth: Which will by a natural Inference lead them to another, and demonſtrate, That of all kinds of Writing none is ſo uſeful and entertaining as Hiſtory.*

THE Poets were quick to obſerve this in the earlieſt and rudeſt Times; and therefore ſeiz'd a Province ſo fertile of Incidents proper to inſpire the ſublimeſt Thoughts in themſelves, and by the means of their powerful Art to work upon the Paſſions of others; and were the firſt who ſet up for Hiſtorians. But the Richneſs of the Soil, prov'd the Ruin of the luxuriant Diſcoverers: The innate Luſtre of great Actions wrought ſo ſtrongly on Minds too ſuſceptible of the lighteſt Impreſſions, that they overheated their Imaginations, quitted the

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common Theatre of Human Life, and ſoaring out of Reaſon's View from Hyperbole to Fable, loſt themſelves in the Clouds to which they had exalted their Bacchus, *their* Hercules, *and the reſt of their Heroes.*

I have ſaid that 'tis natural, from the Benefit and Happineſs ariſing from good Government, to infer the Uſe and Pleaſure of Hiſtory. 'Tis indeed moſt natural; ſeeing the one was the very Cauſe and Parent of the other. 'Twas good Government which gave Life and Being to Hiſtory; and reſcued Mankind from the Deluſion of Fable. The political Inſtitutions of Solon *and* Lycurgus, *produc'd a long Series of more beautiful and glorious Scenes of real Actions, than all the Poets inſpir'd by their* Apollo, *had ever been able to figure to themſelves in Idea, and deliver in Fiction.*

THE Mind of Man does not willingly endure Deception: The Poets could no longer amuſe with monſtrous Shadows, Eyes which had ſeen the native Force of good Order eſtabliſh'd on impartial Reaſon and natural Equity. In a Word, the juſt Lawgiver prepar'd the Way for the judicious Hiſtorian: And (to come cloſe to my preſent Purpoſe) Herodotus *happily found, in the Times immediately preceding his own, a Subject which ſupplied him at once with all the Rules for writing Hiſtory; and had only the plain (tho' that be the difficult) Taſk, to ſuit his Compoſition and Stile to the Conduct of the Nations whoſe Actions and Manners he undertook to relate.*

EXPERIMENT and Compariſon render Men capable of finding the true Value of every Thing. On the firſt Appearance of Herodotus, *all the fabulous Legends of the Poets, with the inanimate Regiſters of dry Annaliſts, were found to*

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bear no Proportion, either in Profit or Delight, when thrown into the Balance againſt his Hiſtory. And in like manner, the Compariſon which every Man who reads his Work cannot but make, of the different Effects of an Equal and Tyrannical Government, of firm and ſlack Diſcipline, of Caution and Preſumption, of Fortitude and Meanneſs of Spirit, of Diſſoluteneſs and Sobriety, in ſhort, of all kinds of Virtue and Vice, upon all Conditions and Degrees of Men, from Monarchs and States down to private Perſons; that Compariſon, I ſay, has been the principal Rule of Writing (from which the reſt are eaſily deduc'd) to all the Hiſtorians who have ſucceeded him, and muſt be the eternal Meaſure to others for judging of all Human Affairs. As will appear amply, from a general View of the Inſtruction and Entertainment of Hiſtory.

NO Paſſion is ſo ſtrong in Man, and ſo univerſal in all Ages and Nations, as that of acquiring Glory by publick Services. Not only Triumphs and Statues, but even Crowns of Leaves, beſtow'd as a national Acknowledgment of diſtinguiſh'd Merit, have been purſued with as much Eagerneſs and Danger, as ever the Rewards of Titles and Riches poſſibly can: And I believe few Men are ſo ſordid or profligate, as not to own themſelves affected with a Deſire of Reputation, in ſuch a modeſt Degree as is ſuitable to their Station in the World; at leaſt, that they are diſpos'd to live with ſome Decency, however privately. Now in whatever Station a Man is plac'd, whether publick or private, he will find himſelf more or leſs qualified to manage his own Affairs, or thoſe of the Community to which he belongs, as his Knowledge of Men and Things is more or leſs extenſive.

The Means of acquiring Knowledge are of two Sorts, Experience or Information. The first is never very considerable in Men, till they are past the Exercise of almost all Virtues: And Themistocles *seems reasonably to complain of the miserable Condition of Man, who must die as soon as he begins to know how to live. Besides all who attain to old Age, do not arrive at Experience: The Employments that lead to it are not many: And the longest Life affords but few Opportunities of extraordinary Actions. As for personal Information from others, it can at best only reach to such Affairs as have pass'd in their own Time, and that imperfectly; but what is this in Comparison to so many Thousand Years included in the Historical Registers of the World? Which bring all Humon Things under the Eye of the Reader within a small Compass; teach him to form his Conduct by the best Examples; and represent such a Variety of Conjunctures and Accidents, as consider'd with Judgment creates a Habit of Prudence, without the Help of Age or actual Experience. History is so far preferable to the longest Experience, as the past Ages comprehend more Examples than the Age of one Man. The Dead are the best Counsellors; not to be corrupted by Money; not to be terrified by Power; not to be persuaded by Intreaty; not deceiving by false Colours. They will faithfully instruct us by what means Empires are erected, decay, and perish: How a small State may become great: With what Judgment Wars are to be undertaken; and with what Diligence pursued: With what Caution to treat of Peace, or engage in Leagues, without Injustice, Dishonour, or Damage. In short, would we know what Fate at-*

tends any State or Kingdom? Hiſtory only will teach us, from a thouſand Examples, to exerciſe the Art of Divination innocently and ſurely: And at leaſt cannot but have this Effect, that hardly any thing can ſeem new, aſtoniſhing, or dreadful to us. In Hiſtory, as in the Book of Fate, ſtand recorded the Glory of good Men, and the eternal Infamy of the Bad: By which every private Perſon is taught how to acquit himſelf in all Conditions ſo as to deſerve the Name of a Man; and Princes are warn'd that they are no more than Men, and that Fame is always juſt to the Dead, however partial to the Living. The Art of Government is beſt learnt from Hiſtory; or rather that 'tis no Art, but that the ſame Cauſes ever did and will produce the ſame Effects. So that Stateſmen can never be at a Loſs how to exert the Virtues of Fortitude, Conſtancy, and Integrity, to prevent or cure the publick Diſorders and Calamities. Generals are inſtructed by the Delays of Fabius, *and the Celerity of* Cæſar; *the Stratagems of* Lyſander, *and the Induſtry of* Hannibal. *Even Nations learn, from the Deſcription they find of Servitude, how to value Liberty:* Phalaris, Dionyſius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian, *and too many others, are the terrifying Examples; and by the fraudulent Practices of a* Philip, *are taught to ſtop their Ears againſt the moſt ſpecious Promiſes of one accuſtom'd to deceive.*

TO conclude, nothing can be more delightful, than by the means of Hiſtory to enter the Athenian *Areopagus, and the* Roman *Senate: To be preſent with* Leonidas *at* Thermopyle, *with* Ariſtides *at* Platæa, *with* Scipio *at* Carthage, *and with* Alexander *at* Arbela: *To be plac'd as a Spectator out of all Hazard, to learn Wiſdom from the Dan-*

gers of others; to take a distinct View of past Governments, Customs, and Manners; and by applying former Examples to our own Use, reap the Advantage of other Mens Experience, and of Trials already made in every kind.

HERODOTUS *was born at* Halicarnassus, *a* Grecian *Colony in the lower* Asia, *a little before the Invasion of* Greece *by* Xerxes; *and liv'd to the Times of the* Peloponesian *War. He withdrew from the Place of his Nativity to* Samos, *to avoid the Tyranny of* Lygdamis, *Grandson of the famous* Artemisia *so often mention'd in his History. From thence returning after some Time to his own Country, he had a principal Part in the Expulsion of the Tyrant: But soon finding himself envied and us'd with Ingratitude, he went to* Italy *with a Colony sent by the* Athenians *to build a City, which they call'd* Thurium, *near the Ruins of the ancient* Sybaris.

WHETHER he wrote his History at Samos *or* Thurium, *is not certain: But both those Places being govern'd in a popular manner, left him free from all Impressions of Hope or Fear, which might incline him to Flattery or Detraction. And as for Truth, he spar'd no Pains to collect the best Information that could possibly be had. To that End he travell'd into* Ægypt, *saw all the principal Cities, and convers'd with the Priests of that Country: He spent some Time in visiting the several Parts of* Greece; *went to* Babylon *and* Tyre; *and was in* Thrace, Scythia, Arabia, *and* Palestine.

HAVING compos'd his History from the Materials he had with so great Labour collected, he resolv'd to expose it to the Censure of Men, who were not only well inform'd of the main Facts, but perfectly

perfectly qualified to judge of his Performance. He went to the Olympian *Exerciſes, for which the* Grecians *were aſſembled from all Parts. Many of theſe doubtleſs had been perſonally in one or other of the Battles againſt the* Perſians; *and not a Man, could be ignorant, at the diſtance of ſo few Years, of the chief Circumſtances of a War ſo important to all* Greece. *To this Aſſembly, compos'd of Men, own'd by the moſt knowing Part of the World to have been their Maſters in all the nobleſt Arts, he read his Hiſtory, which with infinite Applauſe was univerſally approv'd.*

AFTER a Judgment ſo ſolemn and in every Reſpect ſo valuable, 'tis unneceſſary to collect all the Suffrages of the beſt Writers of ſucceeding Times among the Grecians *and* Romans, *in Praiſe of* Herodotus. *Yet I am unwilling to omit, that* Cicero *to ſhew his Eſteem for our Author uſes the higheſt Expreſſion the* Roman *Language is capable of, ſtiling him the* Father of Hiſtory; *not becauſe he was the moſt ancient, for beſides others of leſs Fame,* Hellanicus *of* Mitylene *and* Charon *of* Lampſacus *were before him; but judging him the Prince of Hiſtorians, he gave him the Title of* Father, *which the* Romans *ever us'd to denote a Perſon moſt illuſtrious and highly deſerving of the Commonwealth: The Name of* Lord *being held in Abhorrence, till the Suppreſſion of their Liberty introduc'd the Name with the Thing. Nor can I without Injuſtice ſuppreſs the Teſtimony given to him by* Dionyſius *the* Halicarnaſſian; *becauſe his own admirable Hiſtory is the higheſt Proof of his Ability to ſpeak juſtly on this Argument.*

THIS Writer in his Critical and Rhetorical Works, extols the Happineſs of Herodotus *in chuſing a Subject of the greateſt Dignity, that ſhew'd his*

his Country in the utmoſt Glory; and prov'd to a Demonſtration, by the uniform Succeſſes of the Battles of Marathon, Salamis, Platæa, *and* Mycale, *that Superiority of Numbers was but a feeble Defence to the Great King againſt the military Virtue and excellent Diſcipline of the* Grecians. *He commends the Smoothneſs and unaffected Simplicity of his Narration; the Decency of his Speeches, moſt artfully adapted to the Character of every Perſon ſpeaking; together with the beautiful Order and Compoſition of his Hiſtory, which by following Things, not Time, ever charms to the laſt Syllable, and leaves the Reader with a deſire of more: Preferring him to* Thucydides *in every thing, except Brevity, Vehemence, and cloſe Reaſoning; Talents, if I miſtake not, more proper to an Orator than a Hiſtorian; and probably for that Reaſon ſo much eſteem'd and imitated by* Demoſthenes, *that he is ſaid to have written over his Hiſtory eight times with his own Hand.*

AS Herodotus *us'd the propereſt Means not to be impos'd upon, ſo in many Places of his Hiſtory he has prov'd himſelf to be free, as well from Credulity, as from any Intention to impoſe upon others, by inſinuating and ſometimes by arguing the Improbability, either of general Reports, or of ſome particular Informations he himſelf had receiv'd. In his* 2d *Book he ſays,* Theſe Things are related by the *Ægyptians*; and if any Man think them credible, he is at Liberty: For me, I am oblig'd to write what I have heard. *In another Place,* Theſe Things I relate after the *Libyans. And though many like Warnings are drop'd in divers Parts of his Work; yet out of abundant Caution he thinks fit to make this plain Declaration in his* 7th *Book,* I am oblig'd to relate what is ſaid,

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tho' I am not oblig'd to believe every thing without Diſtinction; which I deſire may be conſider'd in all the courſe of this Hiſtory. *To this let it be added, That ſeveral things which he relates, and were formerly disbelievʼd, have by the modern Navigations been found to be true, as well as other things more ſtrange than moſt of thoſe he mentions: That Length of Time, Alteration of Manners, various Revolutions, and in many Places a total Change of the Face of Things, render us in ſome meaſure incompetent Judges of what may have really been in Nature and Cuſtom, eſpecially in the moſt remote and unfrequented Parts of the World: I ſay, let all this be conſiderʼd, and I believe no ingenious Man will think* Herodotus *ſtands in need of a more labourʼd Apology. But beſides, the Ground of his Hiſtory was, the Wars between the* Grecians *and* Barbarians; *and all the ſtrange Cuſtoms and Religions which he takes Occaſion to deſcribe, ſeem intended rather to give us a Notion of what human Nature is capable, than for an eſſential Part of his main Deſign: And therefore no wiſe Man will intereſt himſelf any farther in thoſe Relations, or lay any greater Streſs upon them, than he thinks reaſonable; but will attend chiefly to the Excellence and Inſtruction of the ſubſtantial and vital Part of the Hiſtory.*

I am not ignorant that Plutarch *has left behind him a whole Book againſt* Herodotus, *in which he accuſes him of ſpeaking too favourably of the* Barbarians, *and cenſuring the Conduct of all the* Grecians *in general; but moſt eſpecially defaming the* Bœotians *and* Corinthians: *Of attributing, without Reaſon, the Original of the* Grecian *Gods to* Ægypt; *and giving too much Credit to the Relations of the* Ægyptians: *Of Impiety, in attributing*

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ting to Solon *his own irreligious Sentiments; and, inſinuating, or rather affirming, that the* Delphian *Oracle was ſeveral times corrupted, and guilty of Impoſture: With many more Imputations of various Kinds. Now one would think, that in order to ruin the Reputation of* Herodotus, Plutarch *ought to have ſhewn, that when he commends or approves any part of the Conduct or Manners of the* Barbarians, *he had no good Ground for his Opinion; and when he mentions the Faults and mutual Animoſities of the* Grecians, *his Allegations were untrue: He might at leaſt have produc'd ſome plauſible Arguments, to ſhew that the Religion of* Greece *was not deriv'd from* Ægypt; *and have acknowledg'd with the Sincerity which becomes a Philoſopher, that the Account of the* Ægyptian *Affairs, to the Reign of* Pſammeticus, *was by the Hiſtorian's own Declaration intirely owing to the Relations he had from the Prieſts of that Country: He ought to have brought ſome Authority to prove that the Words attributed to* Solon, *had been by ſome or other accounted ſuppoſititious: And that, to accuſe the Oracle of Obliquity, double Meaning, and Corruption, was a mere Abuſe: But he was too angry to take ſuch Meaſures, as might ſerve to ſhew his Judgment or Ingenuity: And becauſe he found his Countrymen the* Thebans, *and all the reſt of the* Bœotians, *except the* Platæans *and* Theſpians, *branded by the Hiſtorian with the Infamy of betraying the Common Cauſe, and openly ſiding with the ſworn Enemy of the* Grecian *Name, he could not bear the Reproach, however juſt. Yet, the Fact is ſo notorious, that not only* Demoſthenes *appeals to it in one of his* * Philippics *as to a*

* Second Philip.

Truth

Truth univerſally known; but Xenophon *himſelf in his* Grecian * *Hiſtory concurs with* Herodotus *in charging the ſame Guilt upon that People. As for the* Corinthians, *the many honourable Teſtimonies given them by* Herodotus, *particularly the Speech of* Soſicles *their Ambaſſador to diſſuade the* Lacedæmonians *from ſupporting the Tyrant* Hippias; *and the generous Reſolution, he acknowledges, they took, rather to break with thoſe powerful Allies, than to take Part with them in an unjuſt War; are ſufficient to demonſtrate that the Philoſopher was either blinded by Paſſion, or vainly thought by ſhewing a Concern for others to eſcape the Imputation of open Partiality to his* Bœotians. *Having touch'd upon theſe few things, I ſhall not enter into a longer Diſpute in Vindication of our Hiſtorian; partly, becauſe I am unwilling to tranſcribe from* Camerarius, Stephanus, Balduinus, Dupin, *and many others, who have defended him from the Exceptions of* Plutarch; *but chiefly, becauſe I am perſuaded his own Hiſtory will ſet this Matter in the cleareſt Light, and beſt determine the Queſtion, Whether* Herodotus *has partially favour'd the* Barbarians, *and invidiouſly aſpers'd the Conduct and Manners of the* Grecians? *Or, Whether the Charge of Malignity and Detraction, which* Plutarch *ſo liberally throws upon him, may not with better Reaſon be retorted on himſelf?*

I forbear to mention the Elegance, Fluency, and Sweetneſs of his Stile, (in which the beſt Judges among the Ancients unanimouſly allow Herodotus *to have excell'd all others;) becauſe I am ſenſible I have not been able to transfuſe thoſe Graces into my Verſion. I have endeavour'd, I confeſs,*

* *Book* VII.

to

to ſhew his Air and Turn of Expreſſion, as well as his Meaning; imagining that moſt Readers would not be diſpleas'd to ſee ſome kind of Repreſentation, however imperfect, of the Genius and Spirit of ſo great a Maſter: And, in doing this, I have, without Regret, frequently ſacrific'd a faſhionable Phraſe to a plain Expreſſion which I judg'd nearer to the Author's native Candor and Simplicity. But, upon the whole, I am not inſenſible that many Errors may be found in my Tranſlation; which I might offer to excuſe in ſome meaſure, by charging part on the Faults which thro' the Negligence of Tranſcribers have crept into the Original, and part on the difficulty of forming (at ſo great a diſtance of Time, in which the whole Face of the World is in all reſpects ſo much chang'd,) a certain and juſt Notion of ſeveral Things mention'd in the Courſe of this Hiſtory: But I ſhall content myſelf to ſay, that I have not willingly left any Paſſage erroneous or obſcure, tho' I had not Ability to mend all that I ſaw or ſuſpected.

An EXPLANATION *of ſome Words occurring in this Hiſtory.*

AMPHORA, is a Meaſure containing about a Twelfth Part of our Hogſhead.

Artabe, about a Buſhel and half of our Meaſure.

Cataduppians, ſo call'd, becauſe they inhabit near the Cataracts.

Chœnix, a *Grecian* Meaſure, containing about two Pints or Pounds.

Cubit, is a Meaſure one Foot and half in Length.

Cypſela, a Sort of Cheſt, containing about 9 of our Buſhels, in which the Corn for the preſent Uſe of the Family was conſtantly kept.

Foot, conſiſts of 4 Palms, and is two Thirds of a Cubit.

Ichthyophages, *Ægyptians* of *Elephantis*, who eat Fiſh.

Libation, Wine or other Liquor pour'd out on the Sacrifices, in Honour of the Gods.

Medimnus, a Meaſure containing about a Buſhel and half.

Mine, *(Attick)* worth about 26 of our Shillings.

Macrobians, certain *Æthiopians*, ſo call'd from their long Life; which commonly extended to 120 Years, according to our Author.

Nomades, ſo call'd becauſe they were Keepers of Cattle.

Orguya, which is tranſlated *Perch* or *Fathom*, was the Meaſure of 6 Foot or 4 Cubits.

Paraſange, contains 30 Stades in Length.

Palm, is the 4th Part of a Foot.

Plethron, ſix of theſe make a Stade.

Schœne, conſiſts of 60 Stades.

A *Stade*, is generally accounted equal to 125 Geometrical Paces, and allowing 5 Foot to each Pace, the Stade amounts to 625 Foot.

Stater of Gold, a *Perſian* Coin of the Value of about 26 of our Shillings.

Talent, *(Attick)* is by ſome accounted worth 60 Pound weight of Silver; by others 80.

'Tis not pretended that this Calculation is entirely exact: But it may poſſibly ſerve to prevent ſome groſs Miſtakes, which Men unacquainted with theſe Words might otherwiſe make in reading the Hiſtory.

THE

GREECE
and the Empire of Croesus according to Herodotus

Fronting page 1, B. 2.

45 50 53 60 65 70

SCYTHIA
Siginnes
Ister now call'd the Danube
Getes
Hypanis R.
Araxes R.
Gerrus R.
Tanais R.
Crimæa
PONTUS EUXINUS
Apollonia
Salmidessa
THRACIA
Odrysæ
Rhodope M.
Hæmus M.
Perinthus
Heraclea
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Sinope
Paphlagonia
Mariandins
Chalibes
Pieris
Thermodon R.
Halys R.
Euphrates R.
Pergame
Caicus R.
Hebrus R.
Trauses
Agathirses
Thraces in Asia
Propontis
Bithinia
Crestone
Odomantes
Bisaltæ
Strymon R.
Axius R.
Thermæ
Pella
Mygdonia
Phrigia
KINGDOM of
Cappadocia
Syria
Mount Ida
Lemnos
Imbros
Lesbos I.
Tenedos
Troade
Antandros
Assus
Mitylene
Methymna
Ilium
Scamander R.
Simois R.
Xanthus R.
Gygæan L.
Sardis
Hermus R.
Smyrna
Mæander R.
Chios I.
Ionia
Ephesus
Myunta
Mount Taurus
Pamphilia
CILICIA
Armenia
KINGDOM OF CIRUS
CROESUS
LIDIA or MEONIA
MACEDONIA
Perrhebia
Thessalia
Tempe
Peneus
Mount Pelion
Dodona
Pindus
Thesprotiens
Phtiotida
Meliens
Scyr
Ægæan SEA
Dorida
Mt. Parnassus
Phocide
Locres
Delphi
Bœotia
Thebes
Platæa
Decelea
Eleusis
Megara
Athens
Euboea
Chalcide
Carystus
Caphareus
Andros
Tenos
Mycone
Leucada
Echinades
Acheans
Elis
Sicyon
Corinth
Orchomenus
Arcadia
Argos
Mycenæ
Pisa
Mantinea
Zacinthus
Peloponesus
Epidaurus
Sparta or Lacedemon
Messenia
Malea C.
Cithera
Lepreum
Pylus
Tenarus
Naxos
Paros
Delos
Rhenea
Thera or Callisthe
Carpatic Sea
Cidonia
CRETA
CARIA
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Doris
LYCIA
Xanthe
Rhodes
Linda
Camira
Patara
Phaselis
Solyma
Taurus
CYPRUS
SYRIA
Phenicea
Tyr
MEDITERRANIAN SEA

THE HISTORY OF *HERODOTUS.*

BOOK I.

CLIO.

HERODOTUS of *Halicarnaſſus* writes this Hiſtory, that the Memory of Things paſt may not be extinguiſh'd by Length of Time, nor the great and admirable Actions of the Grecians and Barbarians remain deſtitute of Glory; relating, with other Things, the Cauſes of the Wars that happen'd between thoſe People.

MEN of celebrated Fame among the Perſians ſay, that the Original of this Enmity is to be imputed to the Phœnicians; who, coming from the *Red Sea*, and ſettling in the Regions they now inhabit, preſently applied themſelves to make long Voyages; and being us'd to carry the Merchandizes of *Ægypt* and *Aſſyria* into divers Parts, came alſo to *Argos*, which was then the principal City of thoſe Countries that now go under the Name of *Greece*; that, after they had expos'd their

Goods to Sale during five or six Days, and had sold almost all, a great Company of Women came down to the Shore, and among them the Daughter of King *Inachus*, both by the Persians and Grecians call'd *Io*; that, while these Women were standing about the Stern of the Ship, and buying what they most desir'd, the Phœnicians having mutually encourag'd each other to the Attempt, laid Hands upon as many as they could; and, tho' the greater Part made their Escape by Flight, yet having seiz'd *Io*, with several others, they secur'd them on board, and immediately set Sail for *Ægypt*. In this Manner the Persians, differing from the Grecians, relate the Story of *Io*'s Passage into *Ægypt*; and say, that this was the first Injury done on either Part. To these Things they add, that certain Grecians, whose Country they know not (but who indeed were of *Crete*) arriving at *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, carried away *Europa* the King's Daughter, and by that means brought Things to an Equality on both Sides. After which the Grecians became guilty of a second Injury: For arriving with a Ship at *Aia* in *Colchis* on the River *Phasis*, and having dispatch'd their other Affairs, they carried off *Medea* the King's Daughter; and when the King sent an Herald to *Greece* to require Satisfaction for that Violence, and to demand his Daughter, the Grecians return'd for Answer, that they would make him no Reparation, because they had receiv'd none for the Rape of the Argian *Io*. They say also, that in the next succeeding Age, *Alexander* the Son of *Priamus* hearing the Relation of these Things, resolv'd to have a Wife from *Greece* by the like Means, persuading himself that he should not be con-

conſtrain'd to any Reparation, ſince all theſe had eſcap'd with Impunity; but that, after he had taken away *Helena*, the Grecians determin'd in the firſt Place to ſend Ambaſſadors to demand her, and to require Satisfaction for the Wrong; which when they had done, the Trojans objected the Rape of *Medea*; wond'ring at the Unreaſonableneſs of thoſe, who having neither reſtor'd that Woman, nor made any kind of Reparation, ſhould have the Confidence to demand Satisfaction from others: That hitherto, however, no other kind of Violence had happen'd between theſe People; but that the Grecians became afterwards highly injurious, by entring *Aſia* with an Army, before *Europe* was invaded by any People of that Country; who are perſuaded, that tho' all Violences of this Nature be unjuſt, yet to revenge ſuch Injuries is as evidently the Part of Madmen, as of the Wiſe to have no Regard for thoſe Women; becauſe nothing is more manifeſt, than that they had never been carried off, unleſs they had conſented. For theſe Reaſons the Perſians ſay that the People of *Aſia* ſcorn'd to concern themſelves about ſuch Women; but that the Grecians aſſembled a numerous Fleet, paſs'd over to *Aſia*, and deſtroy'd the Kingdom of *Priamus*, for the ſake of a Lacedemonian Woman; from which Time they account the Grecians to have been their Enemies. For the Perſians conſider *Aſia* as their own, with all the barbarous Nations that inhabit thoſe Regions, and think they have no manner of Society with *Greece* and *Europe*. Thus the Perſians relate the Fact, and derive the Original of their Hatred to the Grecians from the Deſtruction of *Troy*. But the Phœnicians diſ-

agreeing with them concerning *Io*, deny that they carried her away by Force into *Ægypt*; and affirm, that falling in Love with the Commander of their Ship, and finding herſelf with Child by him, ſhe voluntarily departed, for fear of being detected by her Parents. Theſe Things are ſaid by the Perſians and by the Phœnicians; and I ſhall not enter into a Diſpute concerning the Truth of their Relations: But beginning with the Perſon who we are certain attack'd the Grecians unjuſtly without any Provocation, I ſhall proceed in my Narration, and give an Account, as well of the little Cities and Republicks, as of thoſe of more Power and Extent. For many which are now ſmall, were formerly great; and others, which are great at this Day, were once ſmall and inconſiderable. Knowing therefore that human Proſperity cannot always continue in the ſame State, I ſhall ſpeak of the one ſort, as well as of the other.

CRŒSUS, by Birth a Lydian, and Son to *Alyattes*, was King of thoſe Nations that are ſituate on this ſide the River *Halys*, which deſcending from the South, and paſſing Northward between the Syrians and Paphlagonians, falls into the *Euxin Sea*. He was the firſt of all the Barbarians we know, who render'd ſome of the Grecians tributary to him, and receiv'd others into his Alliance; for he ſubdued the Ionians and Æolians, with the Dorians that inhabit in *Aſia*, and made the Lacedemonians his Friends: Whereas before his Reign, all the Grecians were free. For the Irruption of the Cimmerians into *Ionia* with an Army, which happen'd before the Time of *Crœſus*, ended not in the Deſtruc-

tion.

tion of Cities; but only in Ravages, incident to a ſudden Invaſion. This Kingdom belong'd to the Heraclides, and paſs'd into the Family of *Cræſus*, call'd Mermnades, in the following Manner.

CANDAULES, by the Grecians nam'd *Myrſilus*, being deſcended from *Alcæus* the Son of *Hercules*, was King of the Sardians; and as *Argon* the Son of *Ninus*, Grandſon to *Belus*, and great Grandſon to *Alcæus*, was the firſt of the Heraclides that reign'd in *Sardis*, ſo *Candaules* the Son of *Myrſus* was the laſt. Thoſe who had been Kings of this Country before *Argon*, were deſcended from *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*, who gave his Name to the whole Nation, which before his Time were call'd Meones. Under theſe, the Heraclides deſcending from *Hercules* and a Slave of *Iardanus*, were educated; and having obtain'd the Kingdom by means of an Oracle, held it five hundred and five Years, during two and twenty Generations of Men, the Son always ſucceeding the Father, to the Time of *Candaules* the Son of *Myrſus*. This *Candaules* ſo paſſionately lov'd his Wife, that he thought her the moſt beautiful of all Women; and in this Perſuaſion extoll'd her Beauties above meaſure to *Gyges* the Son of *Daſcylus*, who was one of his Guard, much in his Favour, and intruſted with his moſt important Affairs. But not long after, being mark'd out by Fate for Deſtruction, he open'd himſelf farther to *Gyges* in theſe Terms; "Since thou ſeemeſt to me not "to believe the Things I have ſaid concerning "the Beauty of my Wife, and becauſe I know "the Eye to be a more proper Inſtrument of "Conviction than the Ear; I reſolve thou ſhalt

" ſee her naked." *Gyges* amaz'd at this Language, cried out, " What ſtrange Diſorder, " SIR, has poſſeſs'd your Mind, that you " ſhould command me to view the Queen my " Miſtreſs naked? For a Woman puts off her " Modeſty with her Garments. Many excel- " lent Precepts have been convey'd down to " us by Men of former Ages, for our Inſtruc- " tion, and this one among the reſt, *That* " *every Man ſhould look into his own Affairs.* " As for me, I believe the Queen to be the " moſt beautiful of all Women; but I earneſtly " deſire you would not command me to do an " unlawful Thing." Thus *Gyges* dreading leſt the Conſequences ſhould be fatal to him, endeavour'd to diſſuade the King from his ill-conceiv'd Deſign. But he, perſiſting in his Reſolution, replied in theſe Words; " Be con- " fident, *Gyges*, and think not that I have ſaid " this to make Trial of thee, nor fear the Re- " ſentment of my Wife; for I will ſo contrive " the Matter that ſhe ſhall never know ſhe " was ſeen by thee. To this End I will place " thee behind the open Door of our Apartment; " into which my Wife will not fail to come, " ſo ſoon as ſhe hears I am there; and as ſhe " uſes to undreſs at a Chair, where ſhe lays " down her Garments one after another, ſhe will " give thee Time to take a full View of her at " Leiſure; only when thou ſhalt ſee her go- " ing to the Bed, with her Back turn'd towards " thee, be careful that ſhe may not diſcover " thee afterwards repaſſing thro' the Doors." *Gyges* finding all he could ſay to have no Effect, reſolv'd to obey; and at the uſual Hour the King going to his Apartment, took *Gyges* with

with him. The Queen came immediately after, and whilſt ſhe undreſs'd, and laid down her Cloaths, afforded *Gyges* a ſufficient View of herſelf. But as ſhe turn'd her Back to go towards the Bed, and *Gyges* endeavour'd at the ſame Time to retire, ſhe ſaw him going out. And tho' ſhe plainly perceiv'd that this was her Huſband's Contrivance, Shame reſtrain'd her from making the leaſt Exclamation: But ſhe reſolv'd within her ſelf, to be reveng'd upon *Candaules*: For among the Lydians, and almoſt all barbarous Nations, 'tis a great Diſhonour even for a Man to be ſeen naked. She paſs'd the Night in a ſeeming Tranquillity, and having ſuppreſs'd her Reſentment till the Morning, ſent ſome of the moſt faithful of her Servants to bring *Gyges* to her. He, not ſuſpecting the Queen to be acquainted with what had paſs'd, and being accuſtom'd to go to her as often as ſhe ſent for him, fail'd not to obey her Order. When he was come to her Chamber, ſhe ſaid to him; "*Gyges*, Two Ways lie before thee; "chuſe which thou wilt, for I leave the "Choice to thy Diſcretion. Either kill *Can-*"*daules*, and take Poſſeſſion of me, together "with the Kingdom of *Lydia*, or reſolve to "die immediately; that by obeying *Candaules* "without Reſerve, thou may'ſt not hereafter "behold what ought not to be ſeen by thee: "For either the Contriver of this Thing muſt "periſh, or thou, who haſt ſeen me naked, and "been guilty of a criminal Action." *Gyges* at firſt ſtood amaz'd at theſe Words; and afterwards earneſtly begg'd of her, that ſhe would not drive him to the Neceſſity of making ſo hard a Choice. But when he ſaw he could not

prevail, and that he muſt either kill his Maſter, or die himſelf by the Hands of others, he choſe to ſave his own Life. "Since then, ſaid he to "the Queen, you compel me, againſt my "Will, to kill my Maſter, let me know how "we ſhall execute this Enterprize." "From "that very Place, *replied ſhe*, where he expos'd me "naked to thy View, thou ſhalt fall upon him "as he ſleeps." When they had thus concerted the Attempt, and Night came, *Gyges* plainly ſeeing he muſt either kill *Candaules*, or inevitably periſh, becauſe he had not been permitted to go out, follow'd the Queen to her Bedchamber; where ſhe gave him a Dagger with her own Hand, and plac'd him behind the Door, as *Candaules* had done. After ſome Time he went ſoftly to the Bed; kill'd the King as he ſlept, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of his Wife and Kingdom. He is mention'd in the Iambick Verſes of *Archilocus* the Parian, who liv'd at the ſame Time. In this Manner *Gyges* obtain'd the Kingdom, and was confirm'd in his Acquiſition by the Oracle of *Delphi*. For when the Lydians, highly reſenting the Death of *Candaules*, had aſſembled together in Arms, an Agreement was at laſt concluded between them and the Soldiers of *Gyges*, that if the Oracle ſhould pronounce him King of *Lydia*, he ſhould be permitted to reign; if not, he ſhould reſtore the Kingdom to the Heraclides. The Anſwer of the Oracle was favourable to *Gyges*, and he was univerſally acknowledg'd to be King. But the Pythian added this Clauſe; "That "the Heraclides ſhould be aveng'd, in the Time "of the fifth Deſcendant of *Gyges*;" tho' neither the Lydians nor their Kings had any

Regard

Regard to this Prediction, before it was actually accompliſh'd. Thus the Mermnades depriv'd the Heraclides of the Sovereignty, and made themſelves Maſters of *Lydia*.

AFTER *Gyges* had obtain'd the Kingdom, he ſent many Preſents to *Delphi*; for he not only dedicated the greateſt part of the Silver ſeen in that Place, but alſo made an Offering of a vaſt Quantity of Gold; among all which nothing better deſerves to be remembred, than ſix Bowls of Gold, weighing thirty Talents, plac'd in the Treaſury of the Corinthians; tho' to ſay the Truth, that Treaſury was not founded by the People of *Corinth*, but by *Cypſelus* the Son of *Ætion*. For this Cauſe *Gyges* is accounted the firſt of all the Barbarians we know, who dedicated Donations at *Delphi*; except only *Midas* the Son of *Gordius* King of *Phrygia*, who preſented the Royal Tribunal from whence he us'd to adminiſter Juſtice, which is a piece of Workmanſhip that deſerves to be conſider'd, and ſtands by the Cups of *Gyges*. The Gold and Silver, of which theſe Dedications conſiſt, is call'd Gygian, from the Name of the Donor. He made War againſt *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, and took *Colophon* by Force; but as he perform'd no other memorable Action during all the Time of his Reign, which was eight and thirty Years, we ſhall content our ſelves with what we have ſaid of him, and proceed to give ſome Account of *Ardyes*, his Son and Succeſſor; who took the City of *Priene*, and invaded the Territories of *Miletus*. In his Time the Cimmerians, who had been diſpoſſeſs'd of their own Country by the Scythian *Nomades*, paſs'd into *Aſia*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Sardis*, the Fort

Fort only excepted. He reign'd forty nine Years, and his Son *Sadyattes* ſucceeded him, and reign'd twelve Years. *Alyattes* ſucceeding *Sadyattes*, made War upon *Cyaxares* Grandſon of *Deioces*, King of the Medes. He expell'd the Cimmerians out of *Aſia*; and having taken the City of *Smyrna*, founded by the Colophonians, he invaded the Territories of the Clazomenians. But not finding the Event anſwerable to his Deſires, he was oblig'd to return with conſiderable Loſs. He did many other Actions during his Reign, which deſerve to be remembred in Hiſtory. He continued the War which his Father had begun againſt the Mileſians, and entring their Country, diſtreſs'd the Inhabitants in this Manner. When their Corn and Fruits were ripe, he took the Field with his Army, attended in his March with Pipes, Harps, and Flutes of both ſorts; and advancing into the Territory of the Mileſians, he neither demoliſh'd nor burnt their Country Houſes, nor broke their Doors; but ſuffering all theſe to ſtand untouch'd, he cut down the Trees, deſtroy'd the Corn upon the Ground, and then return'd home; for he knew 'twas in vain to ſit down before the City, becauſe they were Maſters of the Sea. He would not deſtroy their Houſes, to the End that the Mileſians having thoſe Habitations, might apply themſelves to ſow and cultivate their Lands, and by that Means he might have ſomething to ravage, when he ſhould invade them with his Army. This War was thus manag'd eleven Years, during which the Mileſians receiv'd two great Blows, one at *Limeneion* within their own Territories, and the other in the Plains of the *Mæander*. Six of

theſe

theſe eleven Years *Sadyattes* the Son of *Ardyes*, who began the War, and invaded the Mileſians with an Army, was King of the Lydians. But during the laſt five Years, the War was proſecuted with much more Vigour by his Son *Alyattes*. The Mileſians had no Support all that Time from any of the Ionians, except the Chians only; who came to their Aſſiſtance, in Requital for the Succour they had receiv'd, when the Erythræans made War againſt them. In the twelfth Year when the Army of *Alyattes* had ſet Fire to the Corn, the Wind happening to blow hard, carried the Flames to the Temple of *Minerva* at *Aſſeſus*, and burnt it to the Ground. This Accident was little regarded at that Time; but after the Return of *Alyattes* with his Army, he fell ſick at *Sardis*; and finding his Diſtemper not eaſy to remove, he ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Delphi*, touching his Condition; either mov'd by his own Judgment, or elſe by the Perſuaſion of others. However, when his Meſſengers arriv'd at *Delphi*, the Pythian told them ſhe would give no Anſwer, 'till they ſhould rebuild the Temple of *Minerva* at *Aſſeſus* in the Country of the Mileſians, which they had burnt. This Relation I had from the Delphians: And the Mileſians add, that *Periander* the Son of *Cypſelus* hearing what Anſwer had been made to *Alyattes*, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *Thraſybulus*, Tyrant of *Miletus*, and his particular Friend, with Advice to make the beſt Uſe he might of the preſent Conjuncture; which according to the Report of the Mileſians, he effected in this Manner. When *Alyattes* had receiv'd Information of what had paſs'd at *Delphi*, he ſent Ambaſſadors

baſſadors to *Miletus*, with Orders to agree upon a Truce with *Thraſybulus* and the Mileſians, for all the Time the Temple ſhould be rebuilding. But, *Thraſybulus* having had the preceding Intelligence, and perceiving the Deſign of *Alyattes*, no ſooner heard that the Ambaſſadors were coming, than he gave Order, that all the Corn which was in the City, either of his own or belonging to private Perſons, ſhould be brought into the Market, and that all the Inhabitants ſhould eat and drink cheerfully together, upon a Signal to be given by him. This was done by the Contrivance of *Thraſybulus*, to the End that the Sardian Ambaſſadors ſeeing ſo great a Quantity of Corn, and the People every where diverting themſelves, might make their Report accordingly, which happen'd as he deſign'd. For when the Ambaſſadors had ſeen theſe Things, and deliver'd their Meſſage to *Thraſybulus*, they return'd to *Sardis*; and this alone, as I am inform'd, was the Cauſe of the enſuing Peace; becauſe *Alyattes*, who thought the People of *Miletus* were in extreme Want of Corn, receiv'd a quite contrary Account from his Ambaſſadors at their Return: By which means an Agreement was made between them, that for the future they ſhould be good Friends and Confederates. Whereupon *Alyattes*, inſtead of one, having built two Temples at *Aſſeſus*, dedicated to *Minerva*, recover'd his Health: And thus a Period was put to the War, which *Alyattes* made againſt *Thraſybulus* and the Mileſians.

PERIANDER the Son of *Cypſelus*, who acquainted *Thraſybulus* with the Anſwer of the Oracle, was King of *Corinth*: And the Corinthians ſay, that a moſt aſtoniſhing Thing happen'd there in his Time, which is alſo confirm'd by the Leſbians. Thoſe People give out, that *Arion* of *Methymna*, who was Second to none of his Time in playing on the Harp, and firſt Inventor of Dithyrambicks, both Name and Thing, which he taught at *Corinth*, was brought by a Dolphin to *Tænarus*; and thus they tell the Story: *Arion* having continu'd long with *Periander*, reſolv'd to make a Voyage to *Italy* and *Sicily*, where when he had acquir'd great Riches, determining to return to *Corinth*, he went to *Tarentum*, and hir'd a Ship of certain Corinthians, becauſe he put more Confidence in them than in any other Nation. But theſe Men, when they were in their Paſſage, conſpir'd together to throw him into the Sea, that they might get his Money: Which he no ſooner underſtood, than offering them all his Treaſure, he only begg'd they wou'd ſpare his Life. But the Seamen being inflexible, commanded him either to kill himſelf, that he might be buried aſhore, or to leap immediately into the Sea. *Arion* ſeeing himſelf reduc'd to this hard Choice, moſt earneſtly deſir'd, that having determin'd his Death, they would permit him to dreſs in his richeſt Apparel, and to ſing ſtanding on the Side of the Ship, promiſing to kill himſelf when he had done. The Seamen highly pleas'd that they ſhould hear a Song from the beſt Singer of the World, granted his Requeſt, and went from the Stern to the middle of the Veſſel. In the mean Time *Arion* having put on all

all his Robes, took up his Harp, and began an * Orthian Ode; which when he had finiſh'd, he leap'd into the Sea as he was dreſs'd, and the Corinthians continued their Voyage homeward. They ſay, a Dolphin receiv'd him on his Back, from the Ship, and carried him to *Tænarus*; where he went aſhore, and thence proceeded to *Corinth*, without changing his Cloaths; that upon his Arrival there, he told what had happen'd to him; but that *Periander* giving no Credit to his Relation, put him under a cloſe Confinement, and took eſpecial Care to find out the Seamen: That when they were found and brought before him, he inquir'd of them concerning *Arion*; and they anſwering, that they had left him with great Riches at *Tarentum*, and that he was undoubtedly ſafe in ſome part of *Italy*, *Arion* in that Inſtant appear'd before them in the very Dreſs he had on when he leap'd into the Sea; at which they were ſo aſtoniſh'd, that having nothing to ſay for themſelves, they confeſs'd the Fact. Theſe Things are reported by the Corinthians and Leſbians; in Confirmation of which, a Statue of *Arion*, made of Braſs, and of a moderate Size, repreſenting a Man ſitting upon a Dolphin, is ſeen at *Tænarus*. *Alyattes* the Lydian having put an End to the Mileſian War, died, after he had reign'd fifty ſeven Years. He was the ſecond of his Family that

* Euſtathius *in his Commentary upon* Homer, *Page* 827. *of the Roman Edition, ſays, the Orthian Song was a kind of Ode contriv'd to inflame the Mind with a Deſire of Fighting; and for a Proof adds, that* Timotheus *uſing that ſort of Muſick in the Preſence of* Alexander, *forc'd him on a ſudden to ſtart up and run to his Arms.*

made

made Offerings at *Delphi*; which he did upon the Recovery of his Health; dedicating a large Silver Ewer, with a Baſon of Iron ſo admirably inlay'd, that 'tis juſtly eſteem'd one of the moſt curious Pieces of Art among all the Donations at *Delphi*. This Baſon was made by *Glaucus* the Chian, who firſt invented the Way of working Iron in that Manner.

AFTER the Death of *Alyattes*, his Son *Cræſus* having attain'd the Age of thirty five Years, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and made War upon the Epheſians, before he attack'd any other People of *Greece*. The Epheſians being beſieg'd by him, conſecrated their City to *Diana*, and tied their Walls by a Rope to her Temple, which was ſeven Stades diſtant from the ancient City, then beſieg'd. When *Cræſus* had reduc'd the Epheſians, he attack'd the ſeveral Cities of the Ionians and Æolians one after another, under various Pretences, the beſt he could find, though ſome were exceedingly frivolous: And after he had compell'd all the Grecians of *Aſia* to be tributary to him, he form'd a Deſign to build a Fleet, and by that means to invade the Iſlanders. But when all Things were prepar'd for the building of Ships, *Bias* of *Priene*, (or, as others ſay, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene*,) arriving at *Sardis*, put a ſtop to his intended Project. For *Cræſus* inquiring what News he had from *Greece*, receiv'd this Anſwer; "SIR, ſaid he, the Iſlanders have bought up "ten thouſand Horſes, with Intention to make "War upon you, and to attack *Sardis*." *Cræſus* thinking he had ſpoken the Truth, "May "the Gods, replied he, inſpire the Grecians "with a Reſolution to attack the Lydians

" with Horſe." " It ſeems then, ſaid *Bias*, you " would wiſh above all Things to ſee the Iſland- " ers on Horſeback upon the Continent; and " not without Reaſon. But what can you " imagine the Iſlanders will more earneſtly de- " ſire, after having heard of your Reſolution " to build a Fleet, in order to attack their " Iſlands, than to meet the Lydians by Sea; " and to revenge the Misfortune of thoſe Gre- " cians, who have been enſlav'd by you on the " Continent?" *Cræſus* was ſo well pleas'd with the Acuteneſs and Reaſon of this Diſcourſe, that he not only laid aſide the Deſign of build- ing a Fleet, but made an Alliance with all the Ionians who inhabit the Iſlands. In the Courſe of ſome Years, he became Maſter of all the Nations that lie within the River *Halys*, ex- cept only the Cilicians and the Lycians: That is to ſay of the Lydians, the Phrygians, the Myſians, the Mariandynians, the Chalybians, the Paphlagonians, the Thracians, the Thyni- ans, the Bithynians, the Carians, the Ionians, the Dorians, the Æolians, and the Pamphyli- ans. When theſe Nations were ſubdued, and the Power of the Lydians was thus augmented by *Cræſus*, many wiſe Men of that Time went from *Greece* to *Sardis*, which had then attain'd to the higheſt Degree of Proſperity; and among others *Solon* of *Athens*, who having made Laws for the Athenians at their Requeſt, abſented himſelf from his Country, under Colour of ſeeing the World, for the Space of ten Years, that he might not be driven to the Neceſſity of aboliſhing any of the Conſtitutions he had eſtabliſh'd. For the Athenians of themſelves could make no Alteration, having taken a ſo-

lemn

lemn Oath to obſerve the Laws he had inſtitut-
ed, during ten Years. With this Intention
therefore, and to ſee the State of Things abroad,
Solon went firſt to the Court of *Amaſis* King
of *Ægypt*, and afterwards to that of *Cræſus* at
Sardis. *Cræſus* entertain'd him in his Palace
with all Humanity, and on the third or fourth
Day after his Arrival, order'd his Officers to
ſhew him the Wealth and Magnificence of his
Treaſury; which when *Solon* had ſeen and con-
ſider'd, *Cræſus* ſaid to him; "My Athenian
"Gueſt, having heard much Diſcourſe of your
"Perſon; of your Wiſdom; and of the Voy-
"ages you have undertaken, as a Philoſopher,
"to ſee many Things in various Countries; I
"am very deſirous to aſk you, who is the moſt
"happy Man you have ſeen?" This Queſtion
he aſk'd, becauſe he thought himſelf the moſt
happy of all Men. But *Solon* reſolving to ſpeak
the Truth freely, without flattering the King,
anſwer'd, "*Tellus* the Athenian." *Cræſus* a-
ſtoniſh'd at his Anſwer, preſs'd him to declare
what Reaſons he had ſo to extol the Happineſs
of *Tellus*. "Becauſe, replied *Solon*, *Tellus* liv'd
"in a well-govern'd Commonwealth; had ſe-
"veral Sons who were valiant and good; his
"Sons had Children like to themſelves, and all
"theſe ſurviv'd him; in a Word, when he had
"liv'd as happily as the Condition of human
"Affairs will permit, he ended his Life in a
"glorious Manner. For coming to the Aſſiſt-
"ance of his Countrymen in a Battle they
"fought at *Eleuſis* againſt ſome of their Neigh-
"bours, he put the Enemy to flight, and died
"in the Field of Victory. He was buried by
"the Athenians at the publick Charge in the

" Place where he fell, and was magnificently " honour'd at his Funeral." When *Solon* had ſaid theſe and many other Things concerning the Felicity of *Tellus*, *Cræſus* hoping at leaſt to obtain the ſecond Place, aſk'd, who of thoſe he had ſeen might be accounted next to him? " *Cleobis*, ſaid he, and *Biton*, two Gre- " cians of *Argos*, poſſeſs'd of a plentiful For- " tune, and withal ſo ſtrong and vigorous of " Body, that they were both equally victorious " in the Olympian Exerciſes. Of theſe 'tis re- " ported, that when the Argians were celebrat- " ing a Feſtival of *Juno*, and their Mother " was oblig'd to go to the Temple in a Cha- " riot drawn by a Yoak of Oxen, the two " young Men finding that the Oxen were not " brought time enough from the Field, and per- " ceiving that the Hour was paſt, put them- " ſelves under the Yoak; drew the Chariot in " which their Mother ſat forty five Stades, " and brought her in that manner to the Tem- " ple. After they had done this in the View " of a great Concourſe of People met together " to celebrate the Feſtival, a happy Period was " put to their Lives; and God determin'd by " this Event, that 'tis better for a Man to die " than to live. For when the Men of *Argos*, " who ſtood round, commended the Reſolu- " tion of the two Brothers, and the Women " magnified the Happineſs of the Mother of " ſuch Sons, the Mother herſelf tranſported " with Joy by the Action and the Honours " ſhe receiv'd on that Account, made it her " Petition, as ſhe ſtood before the Image of " the Goddeſs, that her Sons *Cleobis* and *Biton* " might be rewarded with that Thing which

" was

" was of moſt Advantage to Men. When " ſhe had finiſh'd her Prayer, and her Sons " had ſacrific'd and feaſted with her, they fell " aſleep in the Temple, and awak'd no more. " upon which the Argians, in Commemora- " tion of their Piety, caus'd their Statutes to be " made and dedicated at *Delphi*." Thus *Solon* having adjudg'd the ſecond Place of Felicity to *Cleobis* and *Biton*, *Cræſus* ſaid with Indignation, " Is my Condition then ſo contemptible in your " Opinion, as not to be thought equal to that " of private Men?" " *Cræſus*, ſaid *Solon*, " you aſk me concerning human Affairs, and I " anſwer as one who thinks that all the Gods " are envious and Diſturbers of Mankind. For " in the Courſe of a long Life, Men are con- " ſtrain'd to ſee many Things they would not " willingly ſee, and to ſuffer many Things they " would not willingly ſuffer. Let us ſuppoſe " the Term of Man's Life to be ſeventy Years, " which conſiſt of twenty five thouſand and " two hundred Days, without including the " Intercalatory Month; and if we add that " Month to every other Year, in order to fill " up the juſt Meaſure of Time, we ſhall find " thirty five Months more in the ſeventy Years, " which make one thouſand and fifty Days. " Yet in all this Number of twenty ſix thou- " ſand two hundred and fifty Days, that com- " poſe theſe ſeventy Years, no one Day will be " found like another. So that upon the whole " Matter Mankind is a miſerable Thing. You " appear to me to be Maſter of immenſe Trea- " ſures, and King of many Nations; but I can- " not ſay that of you which you demand, 'till " I hear you have ended your Life honourably.

" For the richeſt of Men is not more happy
" than he that lives by the Day, unleſs his good
" Fortune attend him to the Grave, and he finiſh
" his Life in Honour. Many Men, who a-
" bound in Wealth, are unhappy; and many,
" who have only a moderate Competency, are
" fortunate. He that abounds in Riches, and
" is yet unhappy, exceeds the other only in two
" Things; but the other ſurpaſſes him in many
" more. The wealthy Man indeed is better
" furniſh'd with Means to gratify his Paſſions,
" and to bear the Hatred of many. But if the
" other have not the ſame Power in theſe two
" Points, his good Fortune ſecures him from
" the Neceſſity of doing either the one or the
" other. He is free from Troubles; free from
" Diſeaſes; his Looks are ſerene; and he has
" good Children: And if all theſe Things come
" at laſt to be crown'd by a decent End, ſuch a
" one is the Man you ſeek, and may juſtly be
" call'd happy. For to that Time we ought
" to ſuſpend our Judgment, and not to pro-
" nounce him happy, but only fortunate. Now
" becauſe no Man can poſſibly attain to this
" Perfection of Happineſs; as no one Region
" yields all good Things; but produces ſome
" and wants others, that Country being ever
" eſteem'd beſt, which affords the greateſt Plen-
" ty: And farther, becauſe no human Body is
" in all Reſpects ſelf-ſufficient; but poſſeſſing
" ſome Advantages, is deſtitute of others; he
" therefore, who, after he has moſt conſtantly
" enjoy'd the greateſt Part of theſe, finiſhes the
" laſt Scene of Life with a decent Serenity of
" Mind, is in my Judgment truly a King, and
" juſtly deſerves the Name of Happy. For

" Men ought to obſerve the End of all Things;
" becauſe God frequently brings utter Deſtruc-
" tion upon thoſe he has ſhewn to the World
" in the Height of Proſperity." *Solon* having ſaid theſe Things to *Cræſus*, without the leaſt Flattery or ſhew of Eſteem, was diſmiſs'd, as a Man of no Experience; who without Regard to preſent Proſperity, counſell'd Men to obſerve the End of all Things.

AFTER the Departure of *Solon*, the Indignation of the Gods fell heavy upon *Cræſus*, probably becauſe he thought himſelf the moſt happy of all Men; and as he ſlept he had a Dream, which pointed out to him the Misfortune that was ready to befal him in the Perſon of one of his Sons. For *Cræſus* had two Sons, of whom one was dumb and unfit for any Thing; but the other, whoſe Name was *Atys*, far ſurpaſs'd all the young Men of his Age in rare Endowments. His Dream repreſented to him his Son *Atys* mortally wounded with an Iron Lance: So that when he awak'd and had conſider'd the Thing, dreading the Conſequence of the Viſion, he provided a Wife for his Son; would no longer permit him to lead the Armies of the Lydians, as formerly he had done; and caus'd all the Spears, Lances, and other Weapons of War, to be remov'd from the publick Rooms where they hung, and laid up in private Chambers, that none of them might fall upon his Son. But when all Things were prepar'd for the Marriage of *Atys*, a Phrygian arriv'd at *Sardis*, of Royal Birth; yet polluted with Blood, and overwhelm'd with Affliction. This Man coming to the Palace of *Cræſus*, deſir'd he would purify him according to the Rites of the Coun-

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try; which are almoſt the ſame in that reſpect among the Lydians as among the Grecians. *Cræſus* granted his Requeſt, and having perform'd the uſual Ceremonies, aſk'd him whence he came, and who he was; ſpeaking to him in the following Terms: "I deſire to know who "thou art; from what Part of *Phrygia* thou "art come hither; and what Man or Woman "thou haſt kill'd?" The Stranger made Anſwer; "I am, ſaid he, the Son of *Gordius*, "Grandſon to *Midas*, and my Name is *Adraſtus*. "I kill'd my Brother by Accident, and on "that Account am baniſh'd by my Father, and "diſpoſſeſs'd of all." "I perceive, replied "*Cræſus*, you are born of Parents who are our "Friends, and therefore I aſſure you of your "Welcome. If you will ſtay with us you ſhall "want nothing, and if you can bear your Miſ"fortune with Courage, you will be a great "Gainer." So *Adraſtus* reſolv'd to ſtay in the Court of *Cræſus*.

At this Time a Boar of a prodigious Bigneſs was frequently ſeen in *Myſia*, coming down from Mount *Olympus*, and deſtroying the Huſbandry of the Inhabitants. The Myſians had often attack'd him, but always came off with Loſs, and could not hurt him. At laſt they ſent Deputies to *Cræſus*, who deliver'd their Meſſage in theſe Words; "There is, O King, a monſtrous "Boar in *Myſia*, that ravages all the Country; "and tho' we have often endeavour'd to take "him, yet all our Attempts have been unſuc"ceſsful. We therefore earneſtly beg, that "you would ſend your Son and ſome other "choſen young Men with Dogs, that our "Country may be deliver'd from this pernicious "Beaſt."

" Beaſt." When they had ſpoken in this Manner, *Cræſus* remembring his Dream anſwer'd; " Make no farther Mention of my Son; for I " ſhall not ſend him, becauſe he is lately mar- " ried, and therefore otherwiſe employ'd. But " I will ſend the moſt ſkilful of the Lydians, " with Dogs and all Things neceſſary for " hunting, and order them to aſſiſt you with " their beſt Endeavours, to free your Country " from the Boar." The Myſians were not contented with the Anſwer of *Cræſus*, and in that Inſtant his Son arriv'd, and being inform'd of their Requeſt, and of his Father's Denial to ſend him with them, he addreſs'd himſelf to the King in this Manner. " Father, ſaid he, in Time " paſt, I was permitted to ſignalize myſelf in " the two moſt noble and moſt becoming Ex- " erciſes, of War and Hunting; but now you " keep me excluded from both, without having " obſerv'd in me either Cowardiſe or Abjection " of Mind. What Regard will Men have for " me when I appear in Publick? What will " the People ſay? And what kind of Man " will the Wife I have ſo lately married think " me to be? Either ſuffer me to go and take " Part in this Enterprize, or convince me that " you have better Reaſon to detain me at " home." " My Son, anſwer'd *Cræſus*, the " Reſolution I have taken proceeds not from " any Thing I have obſerv'd in you, diſpleaſing " to me; but I have been admoniſh'd in a " Dream that you ſhall not live long, and muſt " die by the Wound of a Spear. For that " Reaſon I haſten'd your Marriage, and now " refuſe to ſend you to this Expedition; becauſe " during my Life I would take all poſſible Care

" to prevent the Danger that threatens you. " For I eſteem you to be my only Son, and have " no Regard to the other, who is render'd uſe- " leſs by his Defects." " Indeed, replied the Youth, " I cannot blame you, if after ſuch a " Dream you take ſo much Care to preſerve my " Life: But becauſe you have not diſcover'd the " true Meaning, give me leave to be your In- " terpreter. You ſay the Dream plainly ſigni- " fied that I ſhould die by an Iron Lance: " But what Hand or what Lance has a Boar, " to create ſuch Fears in you? Had your Dream " foretold I ſhould loſe my Life by a Tooth, " or ſomething of like Nature, you ought then " to have done as you now do; but if I am to " die by a Lance, you may ſafely let me go, " becauſe our Attempt is not to be made againſt " Men." " You have convinc'd me, ſaid *Cræ- ſus*, " that you rightly underſtand my Dream; " and therefore changing my Reſolution, I per- " mit you to undertake this Enterprize." Thus *Cræſus* having given his Conſent, call'd for *A- draſtus* the Phrygian, and when he came into his Preſence, ſpoke to him in this Manner; " *Adraſtus*, I receiv'd you in your Diſtreſs; I " purified you from Blood, and now entertain " you in my Houſe at my Expence; which I " ſay, not to upbraid you with Ingratitude; " but having oblig'd you firſt by my Kindneſs, " I think it juſt you ſhould make me ſome Re- " turn. I beg you would be my Son's Guard " in this Expedition, and take Care that no " execrable Aſſaſſins may from their private " Haunts ſurprize and fall upon you by the Way. " Beſides you ought to go for your own Sake, " in order to ſignalize yourſelf, and by your

" Actions

" Actions to imitate your Anceſtors, becauſe " you are not in the Strength and Vigour of " your Age." *Adraſtus* anſwer'd, " No other " Reaſons, SIR, could induce me to take part " in this Enterprize: For one in my unfortu- " nate Circumſtances ought not to appear, nor " deſire to appear among thoſe of his own Years, " who are innocent and unblemiſh'd; and there- " fore I have often declin'd theſe Occaſions al- " ready. Nevertheleſs, becauſe you ſo much " deſire it; and becauſe I ought to ſhew my " Gratitude for the Benefits I have receiv'd from " your Hand, I am ready to obey your Order; " and aſſure you no Care ſhall be wanting on " my Part to bring home your Son in Safety." After *Adraſtus* had made this Anſwer to *Cræſus*, they went away, attended by a choſen Compa- ny of young Lydians, and well furniſh'd with Dogs for the Chace. When they arriv'd at Mount *Olympus*, they ſought the Boar, and hav- ing found him, drew into the Form of a Circle, and from all Sides lanc'd their Javelins at him. Among the reſt, the Stranger *Adraſtus*, who had been already expiated for Blood, throwing his Javelin at the Boar, miſs'd him, and ſtruck the Son of *Cræſus*; by which Wound the Predicti- on of the Dream was accompliſh'd. Upon this a Meſſenger ran back to *Cræſus*, and arriving at *Sardis*, gave him an Account of the Action, and of his Son's Fate; *Cræſus* violently diſturb'd for the Death of his Son, bore the Diſaſter with the leſs Patience, becauſe he fell by the Hand of one, whom he himſelf had purified from the Blood he had ſhed before; and with loud Com- plaints of the Indignity of his Misfortune, ad- dreſs'd himſelf to *Jupiter* the God of Expiation, atteſting

atteſting the Calamity brought upon him by this Stranger. He invok'd the ſame Deity again, by the Name of the God of Hoſpitality and private Friendſhip: As the God of Hoſpitality, becauſe by receiving a Stranger into his Houſe, he had harbour'd the Murderer of his Son: As the God of private Friendſhip, becauſe he had entruſted the Care of his Son to one, whom he now found to be his greateſt Enemy.

After this, the Lydians arriving with the Body of *Atys*, *Adraſtus*, who had kill'd him, follow'd; and coming into the Preſence of *Cræſus*, plac'd himſelf before the Corpſe, holding out both his Hands, and in that Manner ſurrendring his Perſon, begg'd of *Cræſus* to kill him upon the dead Body, acknowledging his former Misfortune, and ſaying he ought to live no longer, ſince he had taken away the Life of his Benefactor, who had purg'd him from Bloodſhed before. When *Cræſus* heard this, tho' his own Affliction was above Meaſure great, he pitied *Adraſtus*, and ſaid to him, "You have made "me full Satisfaction by condemning yourſelf "to die. But no, *Adraſtus*, you were not the "Author of this Diſaſter, for you did the Fact "unwillingly. But that God, whoever he was, "that foretold my Misfortune, 'twas he that "brought it upon me." *Cræſus* celebrated the Funeral of his Son, as the Dignity of his Birth requir'd: But *Adraſtus*, who had kill'd both his Brother and his Benefactor, judging himſelf the moſt miſerable of all Men; went to the Sepulchre in the dead of Night, and kill'd himſelf upon the Grave.

CRŒSUS

CRŒSUS continued diſconſolate for the Loſs of his Son during two Years; after which, the Proſperity of *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyſes*, who had diſpoſſeſs'd *Aſtyages* the Son of *Cyaxares* of his Kingdom, and the growing Greatneſs of the Perſians, interrupted the Courſe of his Grief; and led him into a ſollicitous Care, how he might deſtroy the Perſian Power, before it ſhould become more formidable by farther Succeſſes. In theſe Thoughts he determin'd to make Trial of the Oracles of *Greece* and *Libya*; and to that End ſent ſome Perſons to *Delphi*, and to *Abe* a City of *Phocis*; others to *Amphiaraus* and *Trophonius*, and ſome to *Branchis* in the Territories of the Mileſians. Theſe were the Grecian Oracles, to which *Crœſus* ſent; and at the ſame Time he diſpatch'd other Men to conſult that of *Ammon* in *Lybia*; deſigning to try the ſeveral Oracles, and if they ſhould be found to give a true Anſwer, in that Caſe to ſend again, to inquire whether he ſhould make War againſt the Perſians. Before he diſmiſs'd the Lydians on this Meſſage, he order'd, that computing the Days from the Time of their Departure from *Sardis*, they ſhould in one and the ſame Day make Trial of all the Oracles, by aſking this Queſtion; "What is *Crœſus* the Son of *Aly-*
"*attes* King of *Lydia* now doing?" Commanding moreover, that they ſhould bring him the Anſwer of each Oracle in Writing. What were the Anſwers given by the other Oracles, is mention'd by none: But the Lydians no ſooner enter'd the Temple of *Delphi* to conſult the God, and to aſk the Queſtion they had in Charge, than the Pythian thus ſpoke in Heroick Verſe.

I know the Number of the Lybian Sands;
The Ocean's Meaſure: I can penetrate
The Secret of the Silent, or the Dumb.
I ſmell th' aſcending Odour of a Lamb
And Tortoiſe in a brazen Cauldron boil'd:
Braſs lies beneath, and Braſs above the Fleſh.

The Lydians having receiv'd and written down this Anſwer of the Pythian, return'd to *Sardis*. And when the reſt, who had been ſent to other Places, were arriv'd, *Cræſus* open'd and view'd the Anſwers they brought, without being ſatisfied with any. But when he heard the Words of the Delphian Oracle, acknowledging the Truth they contain'd, he ador'd the God; believing that alone to be a real Oracle, which had diſcover'd the Thing he did at *Sardis*. For after he had ſent the Lydians to conſult the Oracles, bearing in Mind the Time that had been fixed, he on that Day took a Lamb and a Tortoiſe, and boil'd them together in a Cauldron of Braſs, which had a Cover of the ſame Metal; judging it an impoſſible Thing to imagine or gueſs at what he was doing. I can ſay nothing certain touching the Anſwer given to the Lydians by *Amphiaraus*, after they had perform'd the Ceremonies requir'd by the Cuſtom of the Place: Only 'tis reported in general, that *Cræſus* imputed no Falſhood to his Oracle. After theſe Things he offer'd magnificent Sacrifices to the Delphian God, conſiſting of three Thouſand Head of Cattle; and thinking to render him yet more propitious, he brought out Beds of Gold and Silver; Vials of Gold; with Robes of Purple, and other rich Apparel; and burnt

burnt all together on a Pile of Fire which he had prepar'd to that End; commanding all the Lydians to imitate his Example. In this Offering ſo great a Quantity of Gold was melted down, that one Hundred and ſeventeen Tiles were made out of it; of which the longeſt were ſix Palms in Length; the ſhorteſt three; and both ſorts one Palm in Thickneſs. Four of theſe were of pure Gold, each weighing two Talents and a half; the reſt were of a paler Gold, and weigh'd two Talents each. He alſo caus'd the Figure of a Lion to be made of fine Gold, weighing ten Talents; but while the Temple of *Delphi* was burning, the Lion fell down from the Tiles, on which it ſtood to that Time, and lies now in the Treaſury of the Corinthians, reduc'd to the Weight of ſix Talents and a half, the reſt having been melted off by the Fire. When theſe Things were finiſh'd, *Cræſus* ſent them to *Delphi*, accompany'd with many other Donations, among which were two large Bowls, one of Gold and the other of Silver. That of Gold was plac'd on the right Hand as Men go into the Temple, and that of Silver on the left; but they were both remov'd when the Temple was burnt; and the golden Bowl, weighing eight Talents and a half and twelve Mines, is laid up in the Treaſury of *Clezomene*; the other of Silver, containing ſix Hundred Amphoras, lies in a Corner of the Portico, and is us'd at *Delphi* for mixing the Wine on the Feſtival call'd *Theophanea*. The Delphians ſay it was made by *Theodorus* the Samian; which I think probable, becauſe to me it appears to be the Work of an uncommon Hand. He alſo preſented four Veſſels of

of Silver, which are plac'd in the Treaſury of the Corinthians; and gave two round Baſons to contain the Holy Water us'd in the Temple, one of Gold, and the other of Silver. On the Baſon of Gold is an Inſcription, which attributes that Donation to the Lacedemonians; but wrongfully; for it was given by *Cræſus*; though a certain Delphian, whoſe Name I know, and am not willing to mention, engrav'd thoſe Words, in order to pleaſe the Lacedemonians. They gave indeed the Boy, through whoſe Hand the Water runs; but neither the one nor the other of the Baſons. At the ſame Time *Cræſus* ſent many other Preſents of leſs Value; with divers round Diſhes of Silver; and the Image of a Woman, three Cubits high, which the Delphians ſay repreſents the Perſon that prepar'd his Bread: And to all theſe Things he added the Necklaces and Girdles of his Wife. Theſe were the Donations he dedicated at *Delphi*; and to *Amphiaraus*, on Account of his Virtue and Sufferings, he ſent a Shield and a Spear, both of ſolid Gold, which remain to this Day at *Thebes* in the Temple of Iſmenian *Apollo*.

When the Lydians were upon their Departure, charg'd with theſe Preſents for the two Oracles; *Cræſus* commanded them to inquire of both, if he ſhould undertake a War againſt the Perſians, and if he ſhould invite any other Nation to his Aſſiſtance. Accordingly arriving in the Places to which they were ſent, they conſulted the Oracles in theſe Words; "*Cræſus* King of the Lydians and of other "Nations, eſteeming theſe to be the only O-"racles among Men, ſends theſe Preſents in-

"Acknow-

" Acknowledgment of the Thing you have " diſcover'd; and demands, whether he ſhall " lead an Army againſt the Perſians, and whe- " ther he ſhall join any auxiliary Forces with " his own?" To theſe Queſtions both the Oracles gave a like Anſwer, and foretold, " That " if *Cræſus* would make War upon the Perſi- " ans, he ſhould deſtroy a great Empire;" counſelling him at the ſame Time to engage the moſt powerful of the Grecians in his Alliance. When theſe Anſwers were brought and reported to *Cræſus*, he became ſo elevated, that not doubting to deſtroy the Kingdom of *Cyrus*, he ſent more Preſents to *Delphi*; and caus'd two Staters of Gold to be diſtributed to each of the Inhabitants, whoſe Number he had already learnt. In Conſideration of which, the Delphians granted to *Cræſus* and the Lydians a Right to conſult the Oracle, and to be diſmiſs'd before any other Nation; together with the firſt Place in the Temple; and the Privilege of being made Citizens of *Delphi*, to as many as ſhould deſire it in all future Time.

CRŒSUS having made theſe Preſents at *Delphi*, ſent a third Time to conſult the Oracle. For after he had ſatisfied himſelf of the Oracle's Veracity, he was not ſparing of his Queſtions. His Demand now was, whether he ſhould long enjoy the Kingdom; to which the Pythian gave this Anſwer,

When o'er the Medes a Mule ſhall reign as King,
Learn thou the Name of Coward to deſpiſe;
And on thy tender Feet, O Lydian, fly
To ſtony Hermus, *and his Fury ſhun.*

This Anſwer being brought to *Cræſus*, pleas'd him much more than thoſe he had receiv'd before. For he preſum'd that a Mule ſhould never be King of the Medes, and conſequently that neither he nor his Poſterity ſhould ever be depriv'd of the Kingdom. In the next place he began to conſider how he might induce the moſt powerful of the Grecians to be his Confederates; and upon Inquiry found that the Lacedemonians and Athenians were the principal Nations of *Greece*, the firſt being of Dorian, and the other of Ionian Deſcent. They were in ancient Time eſteem'd the moſt conſiderable, when they went under the Names of Pelaſgians and Hellenians; of which the latter conſtantly continued in one Country, while the former very often chang'd their Seat: For under the Reign of *Deucalion* the Pelaſgians inhabited the Country of *Pthiotis*; and in the Time of *Dorus* the Son of *Hellenes* poſſeſs'd that Region which is call'd *Iſtiæotis*, lying at the Foot of the Mountains *Oſſa* and *Olympus*. From thence being expell'd by the Cadmæans, they betook themſelves to *Macednum* on Mount *Pindus*; which Place they afterwards abandon'd for another Settlement tn *Dryopis*; and again changing their Country, came to inhabit in *Peloponeſus*, where they were call'd Dorians. What Language the Pelaſgians us'd I cannot certainly affirm; but if I may form a Conjecture by that which at preſent is ſpoken among thoſe Pelaſgians, who being now ſettled at *Crotona* beyond the Tyrrhenians, were formerly Neighbours to thoſe call'd at this Day Dorians, and dwelt in *Theſſaly* when the Pelaſgians founded *Placia* and *Scylace* on the *Helleſpont*, and liv'd in Society with the Athenians: If, I ſay, adding

adding to theſe ſuch other Pelaſgian Cities as have alter'd their Name, I may be permitted to give my Conjecture, the Pelaſgians ſpoke a barbarous Language. And if the whole Pelaſgian Body did ſo; the People of *Attica*, who are deſcended from them, muſt have unlearnt their own Mother Tongue, after they took the Name of Grecians. For the Language of the Crotonians and of the Placians is the ſame; but different from that of all their Neighbours. By which it appears they have taken Care to preſerve the Language they brought with them into thoſe Places. But the Hellenians, as I think, have from the Time they were People, us'd the ſame Language they now ſpeak: And tho', when ſeparated from the Pelaſgians, they were at firſt of no conſiderable Force; yet from a ſmall Beginning they advanc'd to a mighty Power, by the Conjunction of many Nations, as well Barbarians as others. Whereas, on the other hand, the Pelaſgians being a barbarous Nation, ſeem to me never to have riſen to any conſiderable Grandeur.

CRŒSUS had heard that the People of *Attica*, one of theſe Nations, was oppreſs'd under the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus* the Son of *Hippocrates* then reigning in *Athens:* To this *Hippocrates*, a ſtrange Prodigy happen'd, while as a private Man he was preſent at the Olympian Exerciſes. For having kill'd a Victim, and put the Fleſh with Water into a Cauldron, the Liquor boil'd over without Fire. *Chilon* the Lacedemonian, who was accidentally there, and ſaw the Prodigy, advis'd *Hippocrates* not to marry any Woman by whom he might have Children; or, if he was already married, to di-

vorce his Wife; and if he had a Son, to abdicate him. But *Hippocrates* not perſuaded by the Counſel of *Chilon*, had afterwards a Son, whom he brought up, and nam'd *Piſiſtratus*. After theſe Things, a Sedition happening between the Paralians led by *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmæon*, and the Pedieans headed by *Lycurgus* the Son of *Ariſtolaides*; *Piſiſtratus* deſigning to make himſelf Tyrant, form'd a third Party, and having aſſembled his Partizans under Colour of protecting the Hyperacrians, contriv'd this Stratagem. He wounded himſelf and his Mules; and driving his Chariot into the publick Place, as if he had eſcap'd from Enemies that deſign'd to murder him in his Way to the Country, he beſought the People to grant him a Guard, relying much on the Reputation he had acquir'd, as well in the Expedition of *Megara*, as by the taking of *Niſæa*, and other ſignal Succeſſes. With theſe Pretences the People of *Athens* were deluded, and appointed ſome choſen Men of the City for his Guard, who were to attend him arm'd with Clubs, and not with Javelins. Nevertheleſs, by the Help of this Guard *Piſiſtratus* ſeiz'd the Acropolis, and then poſſeſs'd himſelf of the whole Power; yet he neither diſturb'd the ancient Magiſtracies, nor alter'd the Laws; but leaving Things as they were, adminiſter'd the Government with Order and Moderation. Notwithſtanding which, the Parties of *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* being ſome Time after reconcil'd, join'd together and drove him out. In this Manner *Piſiſtratus* firſt made himſelf Maſter of *Athens*, and was diſpoſſeſs'd before his Power was well eſtabliſh'd. But new Diſſentions ariſing between thoſe

thoſe who expell'd him, *Megacles* weary of ſuch Diſorders, ſent a Meſſage to *Piſiſtratus*, offering him the Dominion of *Athens*, if he would marry his Daughter. *Piſiſtratus* accepted the Propoſition; and, in order to his Reſtitution, they two contriv'd the moſt ridiculous Project, that, I think, was ever imagin'd: Eſpecially if we conſider that the Grecians have long been accounted much more acute and free from all ſtupid Simplicity than the Barbarians; and that the Authors of this Contrivance were Athenians, who are eſteem'd among the wiſeſt of the Grecians. *Phya*, a Woman of the Pæanean Tribe, was four Cubits high, wanting three Digits, and in other Reſpects beautiful: This Perſon they dreſs'd in a compleat Suit of Armour; plac'd her on a Chariot; and having diſpos'd all Things in ſuch a Manner as might make her appear with all poſſible Advantage, they conducted her towards the City, ſending Heralds before, with Order to ſpeak to the People in theſe Terms; "Give a "kind Reception, O Athenians, to *Piſiſtratus*, "who is ſo much honour'd by *Minerva* above "all other Men, that ſhe her ſelf condeſcends "to bring him back to her Acropolis." When the Heralds had publiſh'd this in ſeveral Places, the Report was preſently ſpread through the adjoining Parts, that *Minerva* was bringing home *Piſiſtratus*; and in the City the Multitude believing this Woman to be the Goddeſs, addreſs'd her with Prayers, and readily receiv'd *Piſiſtratus*; who having thus recover'd the Tyranny, married the Daughter of *Megacles* in Performance of his Agreement. But becauſe he had Sons already; and knew beſides, that the Alcmæonides were reported to be guilty of an unexpiated

Crime, he reſolv'd to have no Children of this Marriage, and therefore would not uſe the Company of his new Wife according to Cuſtom. The Woman for ſome Time conceal'd the Thing; but afterwards, either mov'd by her Mother's Sollicitation, or other Reaſons, diſcover'd it to her, and ſhe to her Huſband. *Megacles* highly reſenting the Diſgrace, and tranſported with Anger againſt *Piſiſtratus*, reconcil'd himſelf to the adverſe Party; which *Piſiſtratus* underſtanding to be done in Enmity to him, he withdrew quite out of the Country, and arriving in *Eretria*, conſulted with his Sons about the State of their Affairs. In this Conſultation the prevailing Opinion was that of *Hippias*, who adviſ'd to attempt the Reduction of *Athens*. Purſuant to whoſe Counſel, they ſollicited the Cities, where they had an Intereſt, to ſupply them with Money; and many gave great Sums; but the Thebans ſurpaſs'd the reſt in Liberality. To be ſhort, when all Things were ready for the Expedition, they were join'd by ſome Argian Troops which they had hir'd in *Peloponneſus*; and by *Lygdamis* a Naxian, who to their great Satisfaction came voluntarily in, aud brought both Men and Money to their Aſſiſtance. In the eleventh Year of their Exile, departing from *Eretria* they ariv'd in *Attica*, and in the firſt Place poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Marathon*: Where while they lay encamp'd, they were join'd not only by their ſeditious Partizans of the City; but by great Numbers from the adjoining Parts, who were more fond of Slavery than of Liberty. On the other Hand, the Athenians had ſhewn very little Concern all the Time *Piſiſtratus* was ſolliciting for Money; or even when he made himſelf

ſelf Maſter of *Marathon*. But when they heard he was marching directly for *Athens*, they aſſembled all their Forces to defend themſelves, and to repel the Invader. In the mean Time *Piſiſtratus* advancing with his Army from *Marathon*, arriv'd at the Temple of the Pallenian *Minerva*; and after they had plac'd their Arms before the Gates, *Amphilytus* a Prophet of *Acarnania*, by divine Impulſe, went to him, and pronounc'd this Oracle in Hexameter Verſe.

The Net is ſpread, and dextrouſly thrown;
By the clear Moonlight ſhall the Tunnies come.

When the Prophet had deliver'd theſe Words, *Piſiſtratus* comprehending the Oracle, and ſaying he accepted the Omen, broke up with his Army. In the mean Time the Athenians having drawn their Forces out of the City, and taken their Dinner, betook themſelves afterwards to Dice or Sleep. So that the Army of *Piſiſtratus* falling upon them by Surprize, ſoon put them to Flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their Eſcape, *Piſiſtratus* contriv'd an artful Stratagem, in order to diſperſe them ſo intirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his Sons to ride before with Speed, and in his Name to inform all thoſe they ſhould overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every Man might return to his own Habitation. The Athenians readily embracing the Opportunity, *Piſiſtratus* took a third Time Poſſeſſion of *Athens*; and eſtabliſh'd himſelf more firmly in the Tyranny, partly by the Aſſiſtance of auxiliary Forces, and partly by Revenues collected at Home, or brought from the River

Strymon. He compell'd thoſe who reſiſted in the Battle, and had not preſently fled out of the Field, to deliver up their Sons to him as Hoſtages, and ſent them to *Naxus*; which Iſland he had formerly conquer'd, and put into the Hands of *Lygdamis*. He likewiſe purified the Iſland of *Delos*, as he had been admoniſh'd by an Oracle; cauſing the dead Bodies to be taken up, and remov'd from all Places that lay within the Proſpect of the Temple. In this Manner *Piſiſtratus* recover'd the Dominion of *Athens*; many of the Athenians having been kill'd in the Fight, and many others leaving the Country with the Alcmæonides.

CRŒSUS receiv'd Information that this was the preſent Condition of the Athenians; and that the Lacedemonians having extricated themſelves out of great Difficulties, had been at laſt victorious againſt the Tegeans. For in the Time of *Leon* and *Hegeſicles*, Kings of *Sparta*, they were ſucceſsful in all other Wars except only againſt that People. But before their Reign, they had been the moſt diſorderly People of all *Greece*; without any good Correſpondence either among themſelves, or with Strangers; 'till better Orders and Diſcipline were introduc'd by *Lycurgus*, in this Manner. *Lycurgus*, who was a Man much eſteem'd in *Sparta*, arriving at *Delphi* to conſult the Oracle; no ſooner entred the Temple, than the Pythian ſpoke theſe Words,

Welcome, Lycurgus, *to this happy Place*;
Thou Favourite of Heav'n: I doubting ſtand,
Whether I ſhall pronounce thee God or Man:
Inclining yet to think thou art a God.

Some

Some Men ſay, that beſides this, the Pythian at the ſame Time communicated to him that Form of good Government, which is now obſerv'd in *Sparta*. But the Lacedemonians affirm, that *Lycurgus*, being both Uncle and Tutor to *Leobotes* King of *Sparta*, brought thoſe Inſtitutions from *Crete*. However, after he had undertaken the Guardianſhip, he alter'd all their Cuſtoms, and caus'd his own Regulations to be punctually obey'd. He form'd a Militia, divided into Companies under diſtinct Names; eſtabliſhing the Order of eating together in publick; and conſtituted the Ephori and the Senate: Which Change of Government was attended by ſuch good Conſequences, that the Lacedemonians built a Temple to *Lycurgus* after his Death, and paid him divine Honours. In a ſhort Time, aſſiſted by the natural Goodneſs of their Country, and Increaſe of their People, they grew conſiderable: And having attain'd to a great Meaſure of Proſperity, could be no longer contented to live in Peace; but thinking themſelves more valiant than the Arcadians, ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Delphi*, touching the Conqueſt of all their Country, and receiv'd this Anſwer;

To aſk Arcadia *is a high Demand:*
A hardy Race of Men defend that Land.
But againſt Tegea *if thou wilt advance,*
Upon her Plains thy ſounding Feet ſhall dance;
And with a Line thou ſhalt trace out the Soil.

When the Lacedemonians heard the Report of their Meſſengers, they laid aſide their Deſign againſt all *Arcadia*; and relying on this equivo-

cal Oracle, led an Army againſt *Tegea* only; carrying Fetters with them in their March, as if they had been ſure of making all the Tegeans Priſoners. But coming to a Battle, they themſelves were defeated, and all that were taken alive being bound with the ſame Fetters they brought, were compell'd to labour, and ſo to meaſure the Lands of the Country. Thoſe Fetters were afterwards hung up by the Tegeans in the Temple of the Haliæan *Minerva*, and continued there to our Time. In this firſt War, which the Lacedemonians made againſt *Tegea*, they were always unproſperous; but in the Time of *Cræſus*, and during the Reign of *Anaxandrides* and *Ariſton*, Kings of *Sparta*, they had better Succeſs; by theſe Means: Having conſider'd that they had always been beaten by the Tegeans, they ſent to enquire of the Oracle at *Delphi*, what God they ſhould addreſs, in order to be victorious againſt that People. The Pythian anſwer'd, they ſhould then be ſucceſsful, when they ſhould carry back the Bones of *Oreſtes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, to *Sparta*. The Lacedemonians not knowing where to find the Sepulchre of *Oreſtes*, ſent again to inquire of the God in what Country he lay interr'd; and receiv'd this Anſwer by the Mouth of the Pythian:

In the Arcadian Plains lies Tegea,
Where two impetuous Winds are forc'd to blow:
Form reſiſts Form: Miſchief on Miſchief ſtrikes.
Here Mother Earth keeps Agamemnon's *Son;*
Carry him off, and be victorious.

The Lacedemonians having heard this Anſwer, were no leſs in Pain than before, tho' they us'd all

all poſſible Diligence in ſearching for the Sepulchre of *Oreſtes:* Till *Liches*, one of thoſe Spartans who are call'd *Agathoergoi (or well-deſerving,)* found it by an Accident. Theſe *Agathoergoi* conſiſt of Citizens who have ſerv'd in the Cavalry till they attain a conſiderable Age; and then five of the eldeſt are yearly exempted from that Duty; and that they may be ſtill uſeful to the State, are ſent Abroad during the firſt Year of their Diſmiſſion. *Liches* was one of theſe Perſons, and his Prudence was not inferiour to his good Fortune on this Occaſion. For as the Lacedemonians had ſtill the Liberty of going to *Tegea*, *Liches* was there at that Time; and entering one Day into the Shop of a Smith, attentively conſider'd the Art of the Maſter in ſhaping his Iron: Which when the Artificer obſerv'd he ceas'd from his Work, and ſaid; "You ſeem, Laconian Stranger, to "admire my Work; but if you knew a cer- "tain Thing I know, you would be much more "aſtoniſh'd. For as I was ſinking a Well in "this Incloſure, I found a Coffin ſeven Cubits "long: And becauſe I could not think that "Men were ever of a higher Stature than in our "Time, I open'd the Coffin, which I ſaw ex- "actly fitted to the Body: And after I had "taken the juſt Meaſure, I cover'd all again "with Earth." *Liches* reflecting on his Diſcourſe, conjectur'd from the Words of the Oracle, that this was the Body of *Oreſtes*; not doubting that the Smith's Bellows he ſaw, were the two Winds; the Anvil and Hammer the two contending Forms; and that the ſhaping of Iron was ſignified by the redoubled Miſchiefs mention'd in the Oracle; becauſe he imagin'd that the

the Invention of Iron had been deſtructive to Men. Having conſider'd theſe Things, he return'd to *Sparta*, and gave the Lacedemonians an Account of the whole Matter; which when they had heard, they contriv'd in Concert with *Liches*, to charge him with a fictitious Crime; and under that Colour baniſh'd him. The Spartan arriving in *Tegea*, related his Misfortune to the Smith; and hir'd the Incloſure of him, becauſe he would not ſell it. But after he had perſuaded him, and inhabited there for ſome Time, he open'd the Sepulchre; and having collected all the Bones, carried them away with him to *Sparta*. From that Time the Lacedemonians were always ſuperior in War to the Tegeans; and beſides, they had already ſubdued many Countries of *Peloponeſus*.

CRŒSUS being inform'd of all theſe Things, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Spartans, with Preſents, and Orders to deſire their Alliance: Who when they were arriv'd, deliver'd their Meſſage, as they were inſtructed, in theſe Words; "*Cræſus* "King of the Lydians and of other Nations, "having conſulted the Oracle, has been ad- "moniſh'd to make the Grecians his Friends; "and knowing you, O Lacedemonians, to be "the principal People of *Greece*, has ſent us to "tell you, that in Obedience to the God he "offers to become your Ally and Confederate "without Fraud or Artifice." The Lacedemonians, who had Notice of this Oracle before, were pleas'd with the coming of the Lydians, and readily enter'd into a League of Amity and mutual Aſſiſtance with *Cræſus*; from whom they had formerly receiv'd ſome Kindneſs. For when they had reſolv'd to erect that Statue of Gold to *Apollo*,

Apollo, which now ſtands at *Thornace* in *Laconia*, and diſpatch'd certain Perſons to purchaſe a ſufficient Quantity at *Sardis*, *Cræſus* preſented them with as much Gold as was neceſſary to that End. For which Cauſe, and the Honour he had done them in deſiring their Friendſhip preferably to all the reſt of the Grecians, they accepted the Offer of his Alliance; engaging to be ready with their Forces whenever he ſhould deſire their Aſſiſtance. And that they might make him ſome other Return, they caus'd a Baſon to be made of Braſs, capable of containing three hundred Amphoras, and wrought all over the exterior Part with the Figures of various Animals, which they ſent away in order to be preſented to *Cræſus*. But the Baſon never reach'd *Sardis*, for one of theſe two Reaſons: The Lacedemonians on their Part ſay, that the Samians being inform'd of their Deſign, fitted out divers long Ships; and falling upon them in the Road of *Samos*, robb'd them of the Preſent. On the other hand the Samians affirm, that the Lacedemonians, who were charg'd with the Baſon, came too late; and hearing that *Sardis* was taken, and *Cræſus* himſelf made Priſoner, ſold the intended Preſent at *Samos* to ſome private Perſons, who dedicated it in the Temple of *Juno*: And that poſſibly when they were return'd to *Sparta*, they might ſay the Samians had taken it away.

In the mean time *Cræſus* miſtaking the Oracle, reſolv'd to invade *Cappadocia* with an Army, in hope to deſtroy the Power of *Cyrus* and of the Perſians; and whilſt he was preparing all Things for his Expedition, a Lydian nam'd *Sandanis*, who before that Time was eſteem'd a wiſe Man,

and

and on this Occaſion acquir'd a great Addition of Reputation, gave him Advice in theſe Words: "O King, you are preparing to make "War againſt a People who have no other "Cloathing than Skins; who inhabit a barren Country; and eat not the Things they "would chuſe, but ſuch as they can get. They "uſe Water for Drink, and have neither Wine "nor Figs, nor any delicious Thing among "them. What Advantage can you gain by "the Conqueſt of ſo poor a People? But if "you are conquer'd, conſider what your Condition will be. When they come to taſte of "our voluptuous Way of Living, they will eſtabliſh themſelves in this Country, and we ſhall "never be able to drive them out. As for me, "I thank the Gods that they have not inſpir'd "the Perſians with Thoughts of attacking us." But all this was not ſufficient to diſſuade *Cræſus* from making War againſt the Perſians, who before they conquer'd the Lydians, poſſeſs'd nothing either delicious or commodious.

THE Cappadocians, by the Grecians call'd Syrians, were ſubject to the Medes before the Eſtabliſhment of the Perſian Power; and in the Time of this War were under the Dominion of *Cyrus*. For the Kingdoms of *Media* and *Lydia* are ſeparated by the River *Halys*, which deſcending from the Mountains of *Armenia*, paſſes thro' *Cilicia*; and leaving the Matienians on the Right and the Phrygians on the left Hand, tends to the Northward, and divides the Syrians of *Cappadocia* from the Paphlagonians; the former inhabiting on the Right, and the latter on the Left of that Stream. In this Manner the River *Halys* divides almoſt all the lower *Aſia*, from the Cyprian

prian to the Euxin Sea, which is in Length as much as a ſtrong Man can travel over in five Days. *Cræſus* was indeed very deſirous to add the Country of *Cappadocia* to his own Territories; but his Confidence in the Oracle, and great Inclination to revenge the Diſpoſition of *Aſtyages* upon *Cyrus*, were the principal Cauſes that induc'd him to invade the Cappadocians. For *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyſes* had defeated and taken *Aſtyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*, who was King of the Medes, and nearly related to *Cræſus*; in the following Manner. Upon a Sedition which happen'd amongſt the Scythian Nomades, a Party of them eſcap'd into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* the Son of *Phraortes*, and Grandſon to *Dioces*, was then King; who conſidering their Diſtreſs, receiv'd them at firſt with great Humanity; and having entertain'd a good Opinion of them, entruſted to their Care divers Youths, to learn the Uſe of the Bow and the Scythian Tongue. Theſe Strangers exercis'd themſelves with frequent Hunting, and were ever accuſtomed to return with Prey. But one Day, when they had taken nothing, and came back with empty Hands, *Cyaxares*, who, as plainly appear'd, was of a violent Temper, treated them with moſt opprobrious Language. The Scythians reſenting this Uſage with great Indignation, agreed among themſelves to kill one of the Youths that were educated under their Care, and to prepare his Fleſh for *Cyaxares* as they us'd to dreſs his Veniſon; and then to make their Eſcape immediately to *Alyattes* the Son of *Sadyattes* King of *Lydia*. Theſe Things they executed as they deſign'd: *Cyaxares* and thoſe who ſat with him at the Table, taſted of the Fleſh; and the Scy-

thians flying to *Sardis*, implor'd the Protection of *Alyattes*. After this *Cyaxares* ſent to demand the Scythians; but not prevailing with *Alyattes* to deliver them up, he made War againſt him five Years with various Succeſs, the Medes ſometimes defeating the Lydians, and ſometimes being defeated by them; during which Time, they fought once by Night. In the ſixth Year, Things being hitherto well near equal on both ſides, they came to another Battle, and whilſt they were contending for Victory, the Day was ſuddenly turn'd into Night; which Alteration *Thales* the Mileſian had foretold to the Ionians, and nam'd the Year when it ſhould happen. The Lydians and Medes ſeeing Darkneſs ſucceeding in the Place of Light, deſiſted from fighting, and ſhew'd a great Inclination on both ſides to make Peace. *Syenneſis* of *Celitia*, and *Labynetus* the Babylonian were the Mediators of their Reconciliation: And becauſe important Agreements require ſtrong Securities, they not only oblig'd them to confirm the Treaty by Oath, but perſuaded *Alyattes* to give his Daughter *Aryenis* in Marriage to *Aſtyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*. Theſe Nations in their Federal Contracts obſerve the ſame Ceremonies as in *Greece*; except only, that both Parties cut themſelves on the Arm till the Blood guſhes out, and then mutually lick it from the Wounds.

WHEN *Cyrus* had conquer'd and confin'd *Aſtyages* his Grandfather by the Mother, for Reaſons which I ſhall hereafter relate, *Cræſus* was ſo much offended with him, that he ſent to conſult the Oracle, if he ſhould make War againſt the Perſians; and having receiv'd an illuſory Anſwer, which he interpreted to his own Advantage,

Advantge, he led his Army towards their Territories. When he arriv'd at the River *Halys*, he caus'd his Forces to paſs over, as I believe, by Bridges which were then built. But the common Opinion of the Grecians is, that *Thales* the Mileſian procur'd him a Paſſage by other Means. For, ſay they, whilſt *Cræſus* was in great Pain how his Army ſhould paſs over the River, on which no Bridges were then built, *Thales*, who was in his Camp, caus'd the Stream which ran along the Left of his Army, to paſs likewiſe on the Right by this Invention. They began a deep Trench by his Direction at the Head of the Camp, which they carried round by the Rear in the Form of a Halfmoon to the antient Channel; and the Stream being thus ſuddenly divided, was found fordable in both Parts. Some ſay, that the antient Channel of the River became quite dry; but I cannot aſſent to their Opinion: For how then could thoſe repaſs, who return'd from that Expedition? However, *Cræſus* having paſs'd the River, enter'd with his Army into the Country of *Pteria*, the moſt populous Part of *Cappadocia*, and lying near the City of *Sinope*, which is ſituate on the Euxin Sea. Encamping in that Region he ravag'd the Lands of the Syrians; took the chief City of the Pterians, which he pillag'd, with all the adjacent Places, and expelled the Inhabitants, who had given him no Cauſe of Diſcontent.

CYRUS being inform'd of theſe Things, aſſembled his Army, and taking with him the Forces of thoſe Countries thro' which he was to paſs, reſolv'd to march towards the Enemy. But before he began to advance, he ſent Heralds to

to the Ionians, to perſuade them to revolt from *Cræſus*, and receiv'd a poſitive Denial. When he arriv'd within View of the Enemy, he encamp'd in the Territories of *Pteria*, and after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, the two Armies came to a bloody Battle; which continued with great Slaughter on both Sides, till Night parted them, and left it undetermin'd who had the better. But *Cræſus* being diſſatisfied to ſee his Forces much inferiour in Number to thoſe of *Cyrus*, as indeed they were, and finding nothing attempted againſt him the Day after the Battle, retir'd to *Sardis* with his Army, deſigning to ſend to the Ægyptians for Succour, purſuant to the Confederacy he had made with *Amaſis* King of *Ægypt*, before he treated with the Lacedemonians. In like manner, becauſe the Babylonians, with their King *Labynetus*, were alſo his Allies, he reſolv'd to require their Aſſiſtance, and to fix a Time for the coming of the Lacedemonians; determining with theſe Forces and his own to attack the Perſians in the Beginning of the next Spring. With this Deſign he return'd Home; and after he had diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to his Confederates to require them to ſend their Forces to *Sardis* before the End of five Months, he ſeparated his Army which had fought againſt the Perſians, and ſent Home all the foreign Troops; not imagining that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to beat him in the Field, would venture to advance to *Sardis*. While theſe Things were in Agitation, a great Number of Serpents were ſeen in the Lands about *Sardis*; which when the Horſes found, they left their Paſture, and eat as many as they could take. *Cræſus*, not without Reaſon, thinking this to

be

be a Prodigy, ſent to conſult the Interpreters at *Telmiſſus* by certain Perſons, who arriving in that Place, receiv'd the Anſwer of the Telmiſſians; but could not deliver it to *Cræſus*, becauſe he was taken Priſoner before they return'd to *Sardis*. The Interpretation of the Telmiſſians was that the Kingdom of *Cræſus* ſhould ſoon be invaded by a foreign Army, which ſhould conquer the Natives; becauſe, ſaid they, the Serpent is a Son of the Earth, and the Horſe is an Enemy and a Stranger. This Anſwer they gave after the Diſaſter of *Cræſus*; yet without knowing what had happen'd to him and to *Sardis*.

CYRUS being inform'd that *Cræſus* was retir'd after the Battle of *Pteria*, with Deſign to ſeparate his Army, call'd a Council, and reſolv'd to march with all poſſible Expedition to *Sardis*, that he might ſurprize the Enemy, before the Lydian Forces could be drawn together; which Reſolution was executed with ſo great Diligence, that *Cyrus* himſelf at the Head of his Army brought thither the News of his own Enterprize. *Cræſus*, tho' extremely alarm'd at an Attempt which he neither foreſaw nor expected, drew out the Lydians into the Field, who in that Time were as brave and warlike a People as any other of all *Aſia*. They fought on Horſeback arm'd with ſtrong Lances, and manag'd their Horſes with admirable Addreſs. The Place where they aſſembled was a ſpacious Plain, lying before the City, and water'd by divers Rivers, particularly by the *Hellus*, which runs into the greateſt of all call'd the *Hermus*. This River deſcending from a Mountain, ſacred to *Cybele* Mother of the Gods, falls into the Sea

near the City of *Phocia*. *Cyrus* ſeeing the Lydians drawn up in order of Battle, and apprehending the Efforts of their Horſe, by the Suggeſtion of *Harpagus* a Mede made uſe of this Stratagem. He order'd all the Camels that follow'd the Army with Proviſions and Baggage, to be brought together; and having caus'd their Loading to be taken down, commanded Men cloath'd after the Manner of the Cavalry to mount thoſe Animals, and to march in the Van of his Forces againſt the Lydian Horſe. Behind the Camels he plac'd his Infantry, and all his Cavalry in the Rear. And having made this Diſpoſition, he gave out ſtrict Order thro' the whole Army, not to ſpare any Lydian they ſhould meet, *Cræſus* only excepted, whom they were forbidden to kill, even tho' he ſhould reſiſt ſingle. *Cyrus* plac'd the Camels in the Front of his Army, in order to render uſeleſs the Enemies Cavalry, by which the Lydian hop'd to obtain a glorious Victory; for a Horſe is afraid of a Camel, and cannot bear either to ſee or ſmell him. Accordingly the Battle no ſooner began, than the Horſes, impatient of the Scent and Sight of the Camels, turn'd their Heads and ran away; which *Cræſus* obſerving, gave all his Hope for loſt. Nevertheleſs the Lydians, who perceiv'd the Cauſe of what had happen'd, were not preſently diſcourag'd, but diſmounting from their Horſes, renew'd the Fight on Foot; till at laſt, after an obſtinate Diſpute, in which great Numbers fell on both Sides, they fled to *Sardis*, and ſhutting themſelves up within the Walls of the City, were ſoon beſieg'd by the Perſians.

CRŒSUS thinking the Siege would be long, ſent again to his Allies, and in Place of deſiring their Aſſiſtance within five Months, ſollicited them to ſuccour him with all Expedition, becauſe he was already beſieg'd in *Sardis*. Among the reſt of his Confederates, he ſent to the Lacedemonians; who at the ſame Time had a Conteſt with the Argians, about the Country of *Thyrea*, which the Spartans had ſeiz'd, tho' of Right belonging to *Argos*. And indeed, whatever lies Weſtward of that City, even to *Malea*, on the Continent, together with *Cythera*, and the other Iſlands, belongs to the Argians. This Affair depending, the Argians advanc'd with their Forces to recover *Thyrea*; but upon a Conference, the contending Parties agreed, that three Hundred Men on each Side ſhould determine the Diſpute by Combat, and the Country be adjudg'd to the Victorious. Yet in the firſt Place, both Armies were to depart, leſt either Side finding their Countrymen in Diſtreſs, might come in to their Aſſiſtance. This Agreement being made, and the Armies retir'd, the Fight began; and was maintain'd with ſuch equal Valour, that of the ſix Hundred, three Men only were left alive: Neither had theſe all ſurviv'd, if Night coming on had not ſav'd them. Two of the three were Argians, *Alcinor* and *Chromius* by Name, who thinking themſelves victorious ran to *Argos* with the News. But *Othryades*, the only Survivor on the Part of the Lacedemonians, after he had collected the Spoil of the Argians, and carried all their Arms into the Spartan Camp, continued in the Field. The next Day both Armies being inform'd of the Event, met again in the ſame Place, and both laid

Claim to the Victory. The Argians alledg'd, that they had more than one left alive. But the Lacedemonians urg'd, that the ſurviving Argians ran away; and that their Countryman alone had kept the Field and pillag'd the dead. From Words they betook themſelves to their Arms; and after a bloody Fight, in which many were kill'd on both Sides, the Lacedemonians obtain'd the Victory. Upon this Diſaſter, the Argians cutting off their Hair, which to that Time they had been oblig'd to wear of a conſiderable Length, agreed to a Law, and made a ſolemn Vow, that they would not ſuffer their Hair to grow long, nor permit their Women to dreſs with Ornaments of Gold, 'till they ſhould recover *Thyrea*. On the other Hand, the Lacedemonians made a contrary Order, enjoining all their People to wear long Hair, which they had never done before. As for *Othryades*, who was the only ſurviving Spartan of the three Hundred, they ſay, he kill'd himſelf at *Thyrea*, aſham'd to return home after the Slaughter of all his Companions.

THE Affairs of the Lacedemonians were in this Condition, when the Sardian Ambaſſador arriving in *Sparta*, pray'd their Aſſiſtance on the Part of *Cræſus*, who was beſieg'd in *Sardis*; which they no ſooner heard, than they reſolv'd to ſuccour him. But when they had made ready their Ships, and prepar'd all Things for the Expedition, they were inform'd by another Meſſage, that the City of *Sardis* was taken, and *Cræſus* himſelf made Priſoner; which they took for a great Misfortune, and deſiſted from their Enterprize. The City of *Sardis* was taken in this Manner. On the fourteenth Day of the Siege,

Cyrus order'd Proclamation to be made by Men on Horſeback throughout his Camp, that he would liberally reward the Man who ſhould firſt mount the Enemies Walls: Upon which ſeveral Attempts were made, and as often fail'd; 'till, after the reſt had deſiſted, one *Hyræades* a Mardian found a Way to climb an Aſcent on that Side of the Caſtle, which having been always judg'd impracticable and ſecure from all Attacks, was not defended by any Guard. To this Part alone of all the Fortifications, *Males* a former King of *Sardis*, never brought his Son *Leo*, whom he had by a Concubine; though the Telmiſſians had pronounc'd, that if he were carried quite round the Works, *Sardis* ſhould be for ever impregnable; but having caus'd him to be brought to every other Part of the Place, totally neglected this, which faces the Mountain *Tmolus*, as altogether inſuperable and inacceſſible. *Hyræades* the Mardian had ſeen a Lydian come down this Precipice the Day before, to take up a Helmet that was drop'd, and after he had attentively obſerv'd and conſider'd the Thing, he aſcended the ſame Way, follow'd by divers Perſians; and being ſoon ſupported by greater Numbers, the City of *Sardis* was thus taken and plunder'd.

CRŒSUS, as I have already ſaid, had a Son who was dumb, though in all other Reſpects commendable; and as in the Time of his Proſperity, he omitted nothing that might contribute to deliver him from that Infirmity, among other Experiments, he ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Delphi* concerning him, and receiv'd this Anſwer from the Pythian;

O too imprudent Lydian! Wiſh no more
The charming Sound of a Son's Voice to hear:
Better for thee, could Things reſt as they are;
For in an evil Day he firſt ſhall ſpeak.

Upon the taking of the City, a certain Perſian not knowing *Cræſus*, advanc'd to kill him; and when he, not caring to ſurvive that Diſaſter, neglected to avoid the Blow, his ſpeechleſs Son, ſeeing the Soldier ready to ſtrike, and fearing for the Life of his Father, in that Inſtant cried out, *Man, kill not* Cœſus. Theſe were the firſt Words he ever utter'd; but from that Time he continued to ſpeak readily during all the reſt of his Life. In this Manner the Perſians became Maſters of *Sardis*, and made *Cræſus* their Priſoner; who having reign'd fourteen Years, and been beſieg'd fourteen Days, put an End to his great Empire, as the Oracle had predicted.

The Perſians having taken *Cræſus*, and brought him to *Cyrus*, he commanded him to be fetter'd, and plac'd on a great Pile of Wood already prepar'd, accompanied by fourteen young Lydians: Deſigning either to offer this Sacrifice to ſome God, as the firſt Fruits of his Victory; or to perform a Vow; or perhaps to ſee, becauſe he had heard of his Devotion to the Gods, whether any *Dæmon* would ſave him from the Fire. When *Cræſus* had aſcended the Pile, notwithſtanding the Weight of his Misfortunes, the Words of *Solon* reviving in his Memory, made him think he was inſpir'd by ſome God, when he ſaid, that no living Man could juſtly be call'd Happy. Revolving theſe Words in his Mind, he

he ſigh'd often in the Anguiſh of his Soul, and thrice pronounc'd the Name of *Solon*. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his Interpreters to aſk him, whoſe Aſſiſtance he implor'd. They obey'd immediately; but *Cræſus* for a while kept Silence; yet at laſt being conſtrain'd to ſpeak, he ſaid, "I nam'd a Man, whoſe "Diſcourſes I more deſire all Tyrants might "hear, than to be Poſſeſſor of the greateſt "Riches." The Interpreters judging this Anſwer obſcure, repeated their Demand; and perſiſting in their Importunity, preſs'd him earneſtly to explain his Meaning. Upon which *Cræſus* acquainted them, that *Solon* an Athenian having formerly viſited him, and view'd his immenſe Treaſures, had deſpis'd all; and that the Truth of what he then ſaid was now verified, though his Diſcourſe was generally relating to all Mankind as much as to himſelf, and eſpecially to thoſe who vainly imagine themſelves happy. After *Cræſus* had ſaid theſe Words, and the Flames began to aſcend on every Side, *Cyrus*, already inform'd by the Interpreters of what he had ſaid, relented on a ſudden; and conſidering that being but a Man, he was yet going to burn another Man alive, who had been no way inferior to himſelf in Proſperity; and fearing a Retaliation of Puniſhment, as one who was not ignorant of the Inconſtancy of human Affairs; he commanded the Fire to be preſently extinguiſh'd, and *Cræſus*, with thoſe who were about him, to be taken down. Accordingly all Endeavours were us'd to execute his Orders; but they could not maſter the Fire. In this Diſtreſs, *Cræſus*, as the Lydians report, being inform'd that *Cyrus* had alter'd his Reſolution, and ſee-

ing every Man toiling in vain to put out the Fire, burſt into Tears; and with a loud Voice invoking *Apollo*, beſought the God, if ever any of his Offerings had been agreeable to him, to protect and deliver him from the preſent Danger: That immediately Clouds were ſeen gathering in the Air, which before was ſerene, and a violent Storm of Rain enſuing, quite extinguiſh'd the Flames; by which *Cyrus* underſtanding that *Crœſus* was a good and pious Man, ſpoke to him as ſoon as he came down, in theſe Terms. "Tell me, *Crœſus*, who perſuaded you to invade my Territories, and to be my Enemy, rather than my Friend?" "This War, ſaid *Crœſus*, as fortunate to you, O King, as unfortunate to me, I undertook by the Perſuaſion and Encouragement of the Grecian God. For no Man is ſo void of Underſtanding as to prefer War before Peace; becauſe in Time of War Fathers bury their Children, and in Time of Peace Children perform that Office to their Parents. But ſuch was the Will of the *Dæmon*." When he had thus ſpoken, *Cyrus* commanded his Fetters to be taken off; and permitting him to ſit down by his Side, ſhew'd him great Reſpect; for both he and all thoſe that ſtood about him, were aſtoniſh'd at the Things they had ſeen and heard. *Crœſus* ſat for ſome Time penſive and ſilent: But afterwards turning about, and ſeeing the Perſians ſacking the City, he aſk'd *Cyrus*, whether he might ſpeak with Freedom, or whether he ought to ſuppreſs his preſent Thoughts; *Cyrus* bid him take Courage, and deliver his Opinion freely; upon which *Crœſus* aſk'd him, what thoſe great Numbers were now doing with

ſo

ſo much Diligence. "They are, ſaid *Cyrus*, "pillaging your City, and deſtroying your "Riches and Magnificence." "Not ſo, re-"plied *Cræſus*, they neither plunder my City, "nor deſtroy my Riches: For I have now no "Part in thoſe Things; but they ravage and "conſume what belongs to you." This Anſwer made ſuch an Impreſſion on *Cyrus*, that taking *Cræſus* aſide, he aſk'd him privately, what he thought ſhould be done in this Conjuncture? "Since the Gods, ſaid *Cræſus*, have "made me your Servant, I am in Duty oblig'd "to acquaint you with all that may conduce to "your Advantage. If you permit the Perſians, "who are poor, and by Nature inſolent, to "plunder and poſſeſs great Riches; you may ex-"pect that thoſe who enrich themſelves moſt, "will be moſt ready to rebel. Therefore, if "you approve my Sentiment, place ſome of "your Guards at every Gate, with Orders to "take the Booty from all thoſe who would go "out, and to acquaint them that the Tenth "muſt of Neceſſity be conſecrated to *Jupiter*: "By which Method you will avoid the Impu-"tation of ſeizing their Plunder by Violence; "and every one acknowledging your Intention "to be juſt, will readily obey." *Cyrus* having heard the Propoſition of *Cræſus* with great Satisfaction, and intirely approving his Counſel; commanded the Guards to do as he adviſ'd; and then turning to him again, ſaid; "Becauſe "both your Words and your Actions are truly "Royal, I permit you to aſk immediately "whatever Thing you chiefly deſire." "SIR, ſaid *Cræſus*," "The moſt acceptable Favour you "can beſtow upon me, is, to let me ſend my

"Fetters

" Fetters to the God of the Grecians, whom " I have honour'd more than any other Deity; " and to aſk him, if it be his Manner to de- " ceive thoſe who deſerve beſt of him." *Cyrus* aſk'd what Cauſe he had to complain of the God, that might induce him to make this Requeſt: Upon which *Cræſus* recollecting all his Thoughts on that Subject, gave him an Account of the Anſwers he receiv'd from the Oracles, and of the Donations he had preſented; in Confidence of which he had made War againſt the Perſians; beſeeching him again to grant him Leave to reproach the God with theſe Things. *Cyrus* laughing, aſſur'd him he would not only grant this, but whatever elſe he ſhould deſire: Which *Cræſus* hearing, diſpatch'd certain Lydians to *Delphi*, with Orders to lay down his Fetters at the Entrance of the Temple, and to demand of the God, if he were not aſham'd to have encourag'd *Cræſus* by his Oracles, to believe that by undertaking a War againſt the Perſians, he ſhould deſtroy the Power of *Cyrus:* Commanding them after theſe Words to ſhew the Fetters, as the Trophies of his promis'd Succeſs, and to aſk if the Grecian Gods were accuſtom'd to be ſo ungrateful. When the Lydians arriv'd at *Delphi*, and had put his Orders in Execution, the Pythian is reported to have made this Anſwer: " The God himſelf " cannot avoid the predetermin'd Decrees of " Fate; and *Cræſus*, in the fifth Generation, " ſuffers for the Crime of a Man, who being " one of the Guard to the laſt King of the " Blood of *Hercules*, was induc'd by the Fraud " of a Woman to murther his Maſter, and to " uſurp his Dignity, to which he had no Right.

" Yet

" Yet *Apollo* us'd his beſt Endeavours, that " the Diſaſter of *Sardis* might be ſuſpended to " the Time of his Sons, and not happen during " the Reign of *Cræſus*: And though he could " not ſet aſide the fatal Decree; yet he had done " as much in his Favour as that would permit; " having delay'd the Subverſion of his King- " dom for three Years. And therefore let *Cræ-* " *ſus* know, that he was taken Priſoner three " Years later than the Fates had ordain'd. In " the next Place, when he was upon the Point " of being burnt alive, the God came in to his " Relief. Then, as to the Prediction of the " Oracle, he has no Right to complain; be- " cauſe *Apollo* only foretold, that if he would " make War againſt the Perſians, he ſhould ſub- " vert a great Empire; and had he deſir'd to be " truly inform'd, he ought to have ſent again to " enquire, whether his own or that of *Cyrus* was " meant by the Oracle. But if he neither com- " prehending the Meaning of the Oracle, nor " would enquire again, the Fault is his. In a " Word, he did not underſtand the Anſwer he " receiv'd concerning the Mule, when he laſt " conſulted the God; for *Cyrus* was that Mule, " inaſmuch as he was born of Parents, who " were not only of different Nations, but of " very unequal Condition: For his Mother was " a Mede, and Daughter to *Aſtyages* King of " *Media*; but his Father was of *Perſia*, a Coun- " try then ſubject to the Medes; and being eve- " ry Way inferior to her, had married his Lord's " Daughter." The Lydians having receiv'd this Anſwer from the Pythian, return'd, and made their Report to *Cræſus*; who acknowledg'd the Fault to be his, and that the Oracle was wholly

wholly innocent. In this Manner the Kingdom of *Cræſus* was conquer'd, and *Ionia* the firſt Time ſubdued.

MANY other Donations were conſecrated by *Cræſus* in *Greece*, beſides thoſe already mention'd. For at *Thebes* of *Bœotia* he dedicated a Tripos of Gold to Iſmenian *Apollo*: At *Epheſus*, he gave the golden Heifers, with the greater Part of the Pillars; and ſent a large Shield of Gold to *Delphi*, which hangs in the Entrance of the Temple. All theſe remain to this Day; but others have been loſt. The Offerings he dedicated in *Branchis*, a City belonging to the Mileſians, were, as I am inform'd, equal in Weight to thoſe he preſented at *Delphi*. Theſe laſt, together with thoſe he ſent to *Amphiaraus*, were the firſt Fruits of his domeſtic and patrimonial Riches. But the reſt aroſe out of the Confiſcations of an Enemy; who endeavouring to put the Kingdom of *Lydia* into the Hands of *Pantaleon*, form'd a Party againſt *Cræſus*, to hinder his Acceſſion to the Throne. *Pantaleon* was the Son of *Alyattes*, and Brother to *Cræſus*, though not born of the ſame Mother; for *Alyattes* had *Cræſus* by a Carian, and *Pantaleon* by an Ionian Woman. But when *Cræſus* obtain'd the Kingdom, purſuant to the Deſignation of his Father, he kill'd the Conſpirator in the Houſe of a Fuller, and having already vow'd all his Treaſure to the Gods, he perform'd his Promiſe by the Donations he made to the Places I mention'd before. And this I think ſufficient to ſay touching theſe Things.

THE Territories of *Lydia* have nothing admirable and deſerving Mention, like other Countries; unleſs ſome Particles of Gold brought down

down from the Mountain *Tmolus*. But the Lydians ſhew one Building, which in Greatneſs much ſurpaſſes all others, except thoſe of the Ægyptians and Babylonians: I mean the Sepulchre of *Alyattes*, Father to *Cræſus*; the Baſis of which is compos'd of Stones of extraordinary Dimenſions, and all the reſt is a Terraſs. This Fabrick was built by Artificers and mercenary Labourers, with the Aſſiſtance of young Maids; and on the uppermoſt Part of the Sepulchre five Monuments are plac'd for Boundaries, with Inſcriptions ſeen to this Day, certifying the Meaſure of their Labour, and ſhewing that the Maids did more Work than the Men. The Daughters of the Lydians are accuſtom'd to acquire their Dowries by Proſtitution; and are then permitted to marry as they pleaſe. This Sepulchre is ſix Stades and two Plethrons in Circumference, and thirteen Plethrons in Breadth; ſtanding near a ſpacious Lake, which the Lydians ſay is fed by perpetual Springs, and derives its Name from *Gyges*. The Cuſtoms of the Lydians differ little from thoſe of the Grecians, except only that they proſtitute their Daughters. They were the firſt of all the Nations we know, who introduc'd the Art of coining Gold and Silver to facilitate Trade, and firſt practis'd the Way of retailing Merchandize. They pretend to be the Inventors of divers Games, which are now common to them with the Grecians: And, as they ſay, were found out about the Time they ſent a Colony to *Tyrrhenia*, on this Occaſion. During the Reign of *Atys* the Son of *Manes* King of *Lydia*, a Scarcity of Proviſions ſpread over the Kingdom, which the People for a Time

ſupport-

ſupported with Patience and Induſtry. But when they ſaw the Evil ſtill continuing, they applied themſelves to find out a Remedy; and ſome inventing one Game, and others another, they gradually introduc'd Dice, Balls, Tables, and all other Plays, Cheſs only excepted, of which the Lydians do not challenge the Invention: And to bear this Calamity better, they us'd to play one whole Day without Intermiſſion, that they might not be diſquieted with the Thoughts of Food; eating and drinking on the next Day, without amuſing themſelves with any kind of Game. After they had continued this alternate Manner during eighteen Years, and found their Wants rather increaſing than abating; the King divided the People into two Parts, and order'd them to determine by Lot, which Diviſion ſhould relinquiſh the Country; and which ſhould remain in Poſſeſſion; he himſelf deſigning to reign over thoſe who ſhould have the Fortune to ſtay, and appointing his Son *Tyrrhenus* to command that Part which ſhould be oblig'd to remove. Thoſe who by Lot were conſtrain'd to depart, march'd down to *Smyrna*; where having built a ſufficient Number of Ships, and put all Things neceſſary on Board, they ſet Sail in ſearch of Food, and of a new Habitation; till having paſs'd by many Nations, they arriv'd in *Umbria*, and built divers Cities, which they inhabit to this Day. There they chang'd their ancient Name, and were no longer call'd Lydians; but Tyrrhenians, from their Leader *Tyrrhenus* the Son of their King.

HAVING already related in what Manner the Lydians were conquer'd by the Perſians, I ſhall in

ſn the next Place ſhew, who *Cyrus* was, that deſtroy'd the Kingdom of *Cræſus*, and how the Perſians became Maſters of *Aſia*. In which Narration I ſhall follow thoſe Perſians only, who without heightening the Actions of *Cyrus*, have ſpoken the Truth with Plainneſs and Sincerity; tho' I am not ignorant, that there are three other Ways of relating this Hiſtory. After the Aſſyrians had poſſeſs'd the Empire of upper *Aſia* five hundred and twenty Years, the Medes were the firſt that revolted from them; and ſtrenuouſly contending for Liberty, ſhook off the Yoke of Servitude with ſuch Courage, that other Nations imitated their Example. They made and enjoy'd their own Laws for ſome Time all over that Continent: But were again reduc'd under a Tyranny by the Artifice of *Deioces* a Mede, and Son to *Phraortes*: Who being a ſubtle Man, and aiming at abſolute Power, effected his Deſign in this Manner. The Medes were at that Time diſtributed into ſeveral Diſtricts; and *Deioces* having liv'd among them before in conſiderable Eſteem, and now ſeeing all kind of Licentiouſneſs ſpread over the whole Country, applied himſelf to the Exerciſe of Juſtice with great Zeal and Diligence; tho' he knew how much the Juſt were hated by Men of Violence. The Medes of the ſame Diſtrict obſerving the Equity of his Conduct, choſe him for their Judge; and he, aſpiring to compaſs the Sovereign Power, perform'd that Office with all poſſible Regard to Juſtice. By this Means he not only acquir'd much Honour in the Diſtrict where he liv'd, but alſo among thoſe of the other Diviſions; who were made to believe, that *Deioces* was the only im-

partial Judge in the whole Nation; and therefore ſuch as thought themſelves injur'd by unjuſt Sentences, came from all Parts to him, in order to obtain Juſtice: Till at laſt no Man would commit the Deciſion of a Difference to any other Perſon. In the End, the Numbers of thoſe who applied to him for Redreſs augmenting in Proportion to the great Fame of his Equity, *Deioces* ſeeing the whole Care of diſtributing Juſtice devolv'd upon his Perſon, abſented himſelf from the Place where he us'd to ſit to determine Differences, and declar'd he would pronounce no more Judgments; becauſe he could not find his Account by ſpending the Day in doing Right to others, whilſt his own Affairs were neglected. Upon this, Rapine and all manner of Injuries growing far more frequent in every Part than before, the Medes call'd a general Aſſembly, and as they were conſulting about the preſent State of Things, the Partizans of *Deioces* gave, in my Opinion, a very plauſible Turn to their Diſcourſe. "If, ſaid they, "we continne in our preſent Condition, "we cannot expect to live long in this Coun- "try. Let us therefore conſtitute a King, that "the Nation may be govern'd by good Laws; "and that applying our Care to our own Bu- "ſineſs, we may not be conſtrain'd to abandon "our Habitations by the Diſorders of Anarchy." The Medes perſuaded by their Diſcourſe, and reſolving to have a King, began in the next Place to conſider who ſhould be the Perſon; when preſently *Deioces* was univerſally nam'd, and with great Applauſe and general Conſent, approv'd. But after his Election, he commanded them to build him a Palace ſuitable to the Dignity

Dignity of a King, and requir'd Guards for the Security of his Perſon. The Medes obey'd; and on the Ground he choſe, erected a ſtrong and ſtately Fabrick for his Uſe; permitting him at the ſame Time to chuſe for his Guard ſuch Perſons as he ſhould think fit out of the whole Nation. Being thus poſſeſs'd of the Power, he compell'd the Medes to come under one Polity; and relinquiſhing the Care of the reſt, to build one City ſurrounded with Fortifications. In this alſo he was obey'd; and thoſe ſtrong and magnificent Walls, which now go under the Name of *Ecbatana*, were then built. They are of a circular Form, one within the other, and each gradually rais'd juſt ſo much above the other as the Battlements are high. The Situation of the Ground, riſing by an eaſy Aſcent, was very favourable to the Deſign. But the Thing chiefly to be conſider'd, is, that the King's Palace and Treaſury are built within the innermoſt Circle of the ſeven, which compoſe this City. The firſt and moſt ſpacious of theſe Walls is equal in Circumference to the City of *Athens*, and white from the Foot of the Battlements. The ſecond is black, the third of a purple Colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep Orange. All theſe are colour'd with different Compoſitions; but of the two innermoſt Walls, one is painted on the Battlements with a ſilver Colour, and the other is gilded with Gold. *Deioces* having thus provided for his Reſidence, and the Safety of his Perſon, commanded the reſt of the People to fix their Habitations in Places ſituate without the Walls of the City; which when they had done, he eſtabliſh'd

theſe Rules to be obſerv'd as ſtanding Orders; That no Man ſhould be admitted to the King's Preſence, but ſhould tranſact all Things with him by Meſſengers; That none ſhould be permitted to ſee him; and, that either to laugh or ſpit in his Sight, ſhould be accounted indecent. All which he enjoin'd, leſt Men of Spirit and Courage, converſing with him, ſhould be provok'd by Diſcontent to conſpire againſt his Perſon: Not doubting, that thoſe who were debarr'd from ſeeing him at all, would eaſily be induc'd to think him of a ſuperior Nature to themſelves. When he had eſtabliſh'd theſe Orders, and ſettled himſelf in the Tyranny, he was very ſevere in the Execution of Juſtice. The Parties contending were oblig'd to ſend him their Caſe in Writing; which when he had ſeen and conſider'd, he us'd to ſend it back with his Deciſion; and this was the Method he took in Matters of Conteſtation. But if he receiv'd Information that any Man had injur'd another, he would preſently ſend for him, and puniſh him in Proportion to his Offence, maintaining to that End many Emiſſaries and Spies in the Provinces of his Government. The Power of *Deioces* extended not beyond the whole Nation of the Medes; which conſiſts of the Buſians, Paratacenians, Struchates, Arizantins, Budians, and the Mages. He reign'd fifty three Years, and his Son *Phraortes* ſucceeded him in his Kingdom; who not contented to be King of *Media* only, made his firſt Expedition againſt the Perſians, and reduc'd them under the Dominion of the Medes. And having united the Forces of thoſe two powerful Nations, he ſubdued *Aſia*; advancing his Conqueſts

queſts gradually, and attacking one Country after another; till at laſt he invaded the Aſſyrians, who inhabited the City of *Ninus*, and had been the principal People of thoſe Nations; though at that Time they were abandon'd by their Confederates. Yet their Affairs being otherwiſe in good Condition, they prov'd a formidable Enemy; for *Phraortes* having enter'd their Territories, periſh'd with the greateſt Part of his Army in that Enterprize, after he had reign'd twenty two Years. *Cyaxares* the Son of *Phraortes*, and Grandſon to *Deioces*, ſucceeded him, and is generally eſteem'd to have been more brave and warlike than his Anceſtors. He form'd the People of *Aſia* into diſtinct Bodies, of Lances, Cavalry, and Archers; whereas before they had been accuſtom'd to mix in a confus'd Manner; and fought that Battle againſt the Lydians, when the Day was on a ſudden turn'd into Night. At length having united all *Aſia* beyond the River *Halys*, under him, and aſſembled all his Forces, he march'd towards the City of *Ninus*, to avenge the Death of his Father by the Deſtruction of that Place; but after he had obtain'd a Victory over the Aſſyrians, and actually beſieg'd *Ninus*, a great Army of Scythians appear'd in full March, under the Conduct of *Madyes* their King, and Son of *Protothyas*. Theſe Scythians had driven the Cimmerians out of *Europe*, and purſuing them into *Aſia*, by that Means enter'd the Territories of the Medes. The Diſtance between the Lake *Mæotis* and the River *Phaſis* in the Country of *Colchis*, is as much as a vigorous Man can walk in thirty Days: But the Way from *Colchis* to *Media* is not long, no other

People than the Saſpires lying between both. However, the Scythians declining to paſs thro' their Territories, march'd round by the Way of the high Country, having the Mountain *Caucaſus* on the right Hand; and in thoſe Parts fought and defeated the Army of the Medes, who with the Battle loſt the Dominion of *Aſia*. The Scythians having thus poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Aſia*, march'd directly againſt the Ægyptians: But, when they were arriv'd in the Paleſtine *Syria*, *Pſammetichus*, King of *Ægypt* came thither to meet them, and by Prayers and Preſents prevail'd with them to advance no farther. In their Return they paſs'd by *Aſcalon* a City of *Syria*, and moſt Part of the Army march'd thro' the Place without doing any Injury. But ſome few, who were left behind, pillag'd the Temple of the celeſtial *Venus*; which as I am inform'd, is the moſt ancient of all thoſe that are dedicated to this Goddeſs. For her Temple in *Cyprus* was built after that of *Aſcalon*, as the Cyprians themſelves confeſs; and that of *Cythera* was erected by Phœnicians who came from the ſame Part of *Syria*. However, the Goddeſs to avenge this Attempt, inflicted on thoſe that robb'd her Temple, and all their Poſterity, a Diſtemper, in other Places only common to Women; and divers of theſe Patients are ſeen by thoſe who travel into *Scythia*, where they are call'd by the Name of impious Perſons.

After the Scythians had been twenty eight Years in Poſſeſſion of *Aſia*, and by their Inſolence and Negligence brought all to Confuſion, laying heavy Impoſitions on the Publick, and invading the Properties of private Men, *Cyaxares* and the Medes invited the greateſt Part to a Feaſt,

and

and kill'd them when they were drunk: In Conſequence of which Action, the Medes recover'd their former Power, and all they had poſſeſs'd before; took the City of *Ninus*, as I ſhall relate in another Place, and ſubdued the Aſſyrians, *Babylon* and the adjoining Country only excepted. Having accompliſh'd theſe Things, *Cyaxares* died; after he had reign'd forty Years, comprehending the Time of the Scythian Dominion.

ASTYAGES the Son of *Cyaxares*, ſucceeding him in the Kingdom, had a Daughter nam'd *Mandane*; and having dreamt ſhe made ſo great a Quantity of Water, as not only fill'd his Capital City, but overflow'd all *Aſia*, he conſulted the Interpreters of Dreams among the Mages; and by their Explanation was caſt into ſuch a Dread of the Event, that ſeeing his Daughter of ſufficient Age, he reſolv'd not to marry her to a Mede, worthy of her Bed; but choſe a Perſian for her Huſband, nam'd *Cambyſes*, deſcended of a good Family, of a peaceful Diſpoſition, and one he thought inferior to a Mede even of moderate Condition. Within the Space of a Year after he had married *Mandane* to *Cambyſes*, he had another Dream; in which he ſeem'd to ſee a Vine ſhooting from the Bowels of his Daughter, and extending its Branches over all *Aſia*. This he alſo communicated to the Interpreters, and having heard their Anſwer, ſent to *Perſia* for his Daughter, who was then big with Child; and upon her Arrival put her under a Guard, reſolving to deſtroy whatever ſhould be born of her. For the Mages conſidering his Dream, had inform'd him that the Iſſue of his Daughter ſhould reign in his Place. And therefore as ſoon as *Cyrus*

was born, *Aſtyages* mindful of the Prediction, ſent for *Harpagus*, who was his Favourite, and of all the Medes moſt entruſted with his Affairs, and ſaid to him, "*Harpagus*, Fail not to per- "form the Thing I now command. Deceive "me not; and by chuſing others to do this "Office, draw Ruin upon thy own Head. "Take *Mandane*'s Son; carry him to thy "Houſe; kill him, and bury him as thou "ſhalt think fit." *Harpagus* anſwer'd, "O "King, As you have never obſerv'd me unwil- "ling to obey your Commands in any Thing; "ſo I ſhall ever take care to preſerve myſelf "free from the Crimes of Diſobedience. If "therefore this Thing be agreeable to your In- "tention, my Part is to perform it with Di- "ligence." Having made this Anſwer, he re- ceiv'd the Infant richly dreſs'd, with Orders to put the cruel Sentence in Execution. He wept as he carried him to his own Houſe, and arriving there, acquainted his Wife with all that had paſs'd between *Aſtyages* and himſelf. "What then, ſaid ſhe, are you reſolv'd to do?" "Not to obey *Aſtyages*, replied *Harpagus*, in the "Manner he has commanded, tho' he ſhould "be yet more outrageous and mad than he is: "Neither will I myſelf commit this Murder "for many Reaſons; but principally becauſe "the Child is related to me in Blood, and *Aſty- "ages* is old, and has no Son to ſucceed him. "So that after his Death, if the Kingdom "ſhould devolve into the Hands of his Daugh- "ter, what Puniſhment may I not expect for "the Murder of her Son? 'Tis indeed neceſſary "for my Preſervation that the Infant ſhould die, "but as neceſſary that ſome Perſon belonging to

"*Aſtyages*

" *Aſtyages* ſhould be the Executioner, and not " any Perſon of my Family." In this Reſolution he immediately ſent for one of the King's Herdſmen, who he knew kept his Cattle at the Foot of certain Hills, abounding with wild Beaſts, and on that account very commodious for his Deſign. *Mitradates* was the Name of the Herdſman, and he had married a Wife who was his Fellow-Servant. Her Name in the Language of *Greece* was *Cyno*, and in that of the Medes *Spaco*, which ſignifies a Bitch. The Man kept his Cattle in Paſtures that lie under the Hills on the North of *Ecbatana*, towards the *Euxin Sea*. For this Part of *Media*, which borders upon the Saſpires, is very mountainous, and cover'd with Woods; whereas all the reſt is plain and level. When the Herdſman had receiv'd the Meſſage, he went with great Diligence to *Harpagus*, who ſpoke to him in theſe Terms; " *Aſtyages* has commanded thee to take this In- " fant, and to lay him down in the moſt aban- " don'd Deſert of the Mountains, that he may " preſently periſh; and has charg'd me to add, " that if thou ſhouldſt venture to diſobey him, " and by any means ſave the Child, thou ſhalt " dye in the moſt exquiſite Tortures that can " be invented; and I am appointed to ſee his " Order put in Execution." *Mitradates* having heard theſe Words, took the Infant, and return'd by the ſame Way to his Cottage; where he found his Wife, who had been all the Day in hard Labour, providentially brought to Bed, whilſt he was abſent in the City. During this Time, they had been both in great Trouble; the Huſband much concern'd for the Condition of his Wife, and the Woman no leſs diſturb'd about

her Huſband, becauſe *Harpagus* had never ſent for him before. So that he no ſooner came within the Door, than the Woman in a Surprize aſk'd him, Why *Harpagus* had ſent for him in ſuch Haſte? "Wife, ſaid he, I have "been in the City; where I have ſeen and "heard ſuch Things, as I wiſh had never been "ſeen by me, nor ever happen'd to our Maſ-"ters. The whole Houſe of *Harpagus* was "fill'd with Lamentations: And as I went in, "ſtruck with Horror, I ſaw an Infant dreſs'd "in Gold and the richeſt Colours panting and "crying on the Floor. *Harpagus* ſeeing me, "order'd me to carry away the Child with all "Speed, and to leave him in that Part of the "Mountains which is moſt frequented by wild "Beaſts; telling me at the ſame Time, that this "was the Command of *Aſtyages*, and threaten-"ing the ſevereſt Puniſhment if I ſhould fail. "I took the Infant, which I ſuppos'd to be-"long to ſome Perſon of the Family; having "then no Suſpicion of his high Birth, though "I was aſtoniſh'd to ſee the Gold and Magni-"ficence of the Apparel, and to have heard "ſuch loud Lamentation in the Houſe of *Har-"pagus*. But being upon the Way, I under-"ſtood all from the Servant that accompanied "me out of the City; who delivering the "Boy into my Hands, aſſur'd me he was born "of *Mandane* our King's Daughter, and of "*Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus*, and that *Aſtya-"ges* had commanded him to be kill'd." As he finiſh'd theſe Words, he ſhew'd the Infant uncover'd to his Wife; who ſeeing him beautiful and well proportion'd, embrac'd the Knees of her Huſband, and with Tears beſought him not

not to execute the Orders he had receiv'd. He told her he was under an abſolute Neceſſity of obeying; becauſe the Spies of *Harpagus* would certainly come to ſee the Thing done, and becauſe he himſelf had been threatned with the moſt cruel Death, if he ſhould fail. The Woman finding ſhe could not prevail this Way, had Recourſe to another. "Since then, ſaid ſhe, I "cannot perſuade you not to expoſe the In-"fant, do this at leaſt, if the Spies of *Harpa-*"*gus* muſt ſee his Orders obey'd: Take my "Child, which was born dead; leave him a-"mong the Hills inſtead of the other, and let "us bring up the Son of *Mandane* as our own. "For by that Means we ſhall ſufficiently conſult "our own Safety, without doing any Injury to "our Lords: The Child that is dead ſhall have "a Royal Sepulchre, and the ſurviving Infant "ſhall be preſerv'd from an untimely Death." The Herdſman judging this Expedient very proper in the preſent State of Things; and reſolving to do as his Wife advis'd, deliver'd the Infant he was about to deſtroy into her Hands; and having wrapp'd his own dead Child in all the rich Apparel, he put it into the ſame Baſket in which he had brought the other, and carried it to the moſt deſolate Part of all the Mountains. On the third Day after this was done, leaving one of the Herdſmen in his Place, he went to the Houſe of *Harpagus* in the City, and told him he was ready to ſhew the Carcaſs of the Infant. Upon which *Harpagus* diſpatch'd ſome of his Guards, whom he moſt truſted, to ſee what was done; and at their Return took Care to interr the Herdſman's Child. The other, who afterwards had the Name of *Cyrus*, was

educated

educated by the Wife of the Herdſman, and went under the Name ſhe gave him. But when he attain'd to the Age of ten Years, he was diſcover'd by this Action. Being one Day playing in theſe Paſtures with Boys of a like Age, whilſt he paſs'd for the Son of the Herdſman, he was choſen King by his Companions; and in Virtue of that Power, diſtinguiſh'd them into ſeveral Orders and Offices, appointing ſome to be Builders, and others to wait on him as Guards; one to be his Chief Miniſter, who is call'd the Eye of the King, and another to have the Care of bringing Meſſages to him. The Son of *Artembares*, a Man of eminent Dignity among the Medes, being one of his Companions in this Play, and refuſing to obey his Orders, *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately ſeiz'd and puniſh'd with many Stripes, which was done accordingly. But, as ſoon as the Boy was diſmiſs'd, he haſten'd to the City, full of Grief and Indignation on account of this Diſgrace, which he thought inſupportable, and with Tears told his Father what he had ſuffer'd from *Cyrus*, calling him the Son of the King's Herdſman; for at that Time he had not the Name of *Cyrus*. *Artembares* in a Tranſport of Anger, went preſently to *Aſtyages*, accompanied by his Son; and ſhewing the Boy's Shoulders to the King, "Are we then, ſaid he, to be "treated in this ſhameful Manner by a Slave, the "Son of thy Herdſman?" *Aſtyages* heard and ſaw what was done; and reſolving for the Honour of *Artembares* to avenge the Indignity offer'd to the Youth, commanded the Herdſman and his Son to be brought before him. When they came into his Preſence, the King looking upon

upon *Cyrus*, aſk'd him, how he, who was the Son of ſo mean a Man, had dar'd in ſo inſolent a Manner to abuſe the Son of one of the principal Perſons in his Kingdom? "SIR, ſaid *Cyrus*, "I have done no more than I had a Right to "do. For he with other Boys of our Neigh-"bourhood, in our Recreations made me their "King, becauſe they thought me moſt capable "of that Dignity. All the reſt obey'd me, "and perform'd what I commanded; but he "alone refuſing to obey, and ſlighting my Or-"ders, has ſuffer'd the Puniſhment he deſerv'd: "And if this be a Crime, I am in your Power." As the Boy was ſpeaking, *Aſtyages* began to think he knew him: The Air of his Face appear'd to him like his own; his Anſwer Liberal and Noble; and reflecting on the Time when his Grandſon was expos'd, he found it agreeing with his Age. Aſtoniſh'd at theſe Things, he was long ſilent; and at laſt hardly recovering himſelf, he diſmiſs'd *Artembares* with Aſſurance, that he would take care his Son ſhould have no Cauſe of Complaint; which he did in order to examine the Herdſman privately. When *Artembares* was gone out, the King commanded his Attendants to conduct *Cyrus* into the Palace; and detaining the Herdſman alone, aſk'd him where he had the Boy, and from whoſe Hands? *Mitradates* affirm'd he was his own Son, and that the Mother of the Boy was ſtill living. *Aſtyages* told him, he as little conſulted his own Safety, as if he purpoſely deſign'd to bring himſelf into the greateſt Extremities; and at the ſame Time commanded his Guards to ſeize him. The Man ſeeing himſelf reduc'd to this Neceſſity, diſcover'd the whole

whole Matter without Reſerve; and implor'd the King's Mercy; who having found out the Truth, ſeem'd not much concern'd about the Herdſman. Being highly incens'd againſt *Harpagus*, he ſent his Guards with Orders to bring him to the Palace; where when he was come, *Aſtyages* aſk'd him, in what Manner he had kill'd the Son of his Daughter *Mandane? Harpagus* ſeeing the Herdſman preſent, reſolv'd to conceal nothing by a Falſhood, leſt he ſhould be convicted by his Teſtimony, and therefore ſaid; "O King, after I had receiv'd the Infant, I "carefully conſider'd how your Command "might be obey'd, and I, who had not offend-"ed you, might not be guilty of ſo great a "Crime againſt you and your Daughter. To "that End I ſent for this Man, and gave him "the Child; which I ſaid you had commanded "him to deſtroy; and I told him the Truth, "for ſuch indeed were your Orders. In this "Manner I put the Infant into his Hands; "charging him in the next Place to lay him "down in ſome Deſert of the Mountains, and "to ſtay till he ſhould ſee him periſh, threat-"ning the ſevereſt Puniſhment if he ſhould dare "to fail. When he had executed theſe Or-"ders, and the Child was dead, I ſent ſome of "the moſt truſty among my Eunuchs to in-"ſpect the Matter; and after they had given "me a ſatisfactory Account, I buried him. "This is the whole Truth, O King, and ſuch "was the Fate of the Infant." Thus *Harpagus* ſpoke with Plainneſs; and *Aſtyages* diſſembling his Reſentment, repeated to him the whole Confeſſion of the Herdſman; adding, that the Boy was living, and that he himſelf was glad

glad of the Event. "For, ſaid he, I was in "great Pain on Account of this Thing, and "could not eaſily bear the Reproaches of my "Daughter: Therefore ſince Fortune has been "more propitious than we expected, ſend your "Son to accompany the Boy I have recover'd, "and come yourſelf to my Supper; for I re-"ſolve to ſacrifice to thoſe Gods, who have "a Right to my Acknowledgment on this Oc-"caſion." As ſoon as *Harpagus* heard theſe Words, he ador'd the King, and went home exceedingly pleas'd, that his Fault had turn'd to ſo good Account, and that he was invited to the Feaſt of Joy. At his Return he ſent his only Son, of about thirty Years of Age, to *Aſtyages*, with Order to do as he ſhould command; and acquainted his Wife with what had paſs'd, in Expreſſions of the higheſt Satisfaction. But the Youth going into the Palace, was kill'd and cut in Pieces by *Aſtyages*; who, after he had roaſted ſome Parts of his Fleſh, and boil'd others, kept them in a Readineſs to be ſerv'd. At the appointed Hour, when *Harpagus* and all the Company was come, the Tables where the King ſat, and the reſt of thoſe he had invited, were ſerv'd with Mutton; but before *Harpagus* all the Body of his Son was plac'd, except the Head, the Hands and Feet, which were laid together in a Baſket, and cover'd. When he ſeem'd to have eaten ſufficiently, *Aſtyages* aſk'd him, if he lik'd the Meat; and *Harpagus* anſwer'd, That he had never taſted any Thing more delicious, the Officers appointed to that End, brought the Head, Hands, and Feet of the Youth; deſiring him to uncover the Baſket, and take what pleas'd him beſt. He did as they

deſir'd, and ſaw the Remains of his Son's Body, without being aſtoniſh'd at the Sight, or ſhewing any Sign of Diſcontent: And when *Aſtyages* aſk'd him, If he knew what kind of Veniſon he had eaten; he ſaid, he knew very well, and was always pleas'd with whatever the King did: After which Anſwer, he collected the mangled Parts, and went Home, as I conjecture, to bury them together.

ASTYAGES after he had thus puniſh'd *Harpagus*, beginning to conſider what he ſhould do with *Cyrus*, ſent again for the Mages, who had formerly interpreted his Dream; and when they came into his Preſence, aſk'd them what Judgment they had made of it. They gave the ſame Anſwer as before; and ſaid, That if the Boy ſhould continue to live, he muſt of Neceſſity be a King. "He is living and ſafe, "anſwer'd *Aſtyages*; and having been choſen "King by the Boys of that Diſtrict where he "liv'd, he has already perform'd all the Offi- "ces which belong to a real King. For he "exercis'd that Power in appointing Guards, "Doorkeepers, Meſſengers, and all other Things "requiſite: And now I deſire to know what "you think of theſe Actions?" If the Boy be "living, *ſaid the Mages*, and has already been a "King by ſuch an Accident, and not by Con- "trivance, you may reſt ſatisfied in full Aſſu- "rance that he ſhall not reign a ſecond Time. "For our Predictions often terminate in Things "of little Importance, and Dreams eſpecially "are fulfill'd by ſlight Events." "I am fully "perſuaded, *replied Aſtyages*, that my Dream is "accompliſh'd, and that I have nothing more "to fear, ſince the Title of King has been

" given to the Boy; yet conſider well, and " with all poſſible Circumſpection adviſe what " may be moſt conducing to the Safety of my " Family and to yourſelves. Our great Inte- " reſt, *anſwer'd the Mages*, is, That your King- " dom ſhould be firmly eſtabliſh'd; becauſe if " the Sovereignty be alienated and transferr'd to " this Perſian, we, who are Medes, ſhall be- " come Servants of the Perſians, and be treated " as Foreigners, with the utmoſt Contempt; " whereas now, living under a King of our " own Country, we have a Part in the Go- " vernment, and enjoy the greateſt Honours. " So that ſtanding oblig'd by Intereſt to be " careful and vigilant to preſerve your Perſon " and Kingdom, we would not conceal any " Thing from you which might be dangerous " to either. And therefore, ſince the Dream is " accompliſh'd by a frivolous Event, we exhort " you to lay aſide your Fears, as we have al- " ready done, and to ſend away the Boy to his " Parents in *Perſia*." *Aſtyages* heard this Diſ- courſe with Joy, and calling for *Cyrus*, ſaid to him; " Child, I have been unjuſt to thee, by " reaſon of an inſignificant Dream; but thou " haſt ſurviv'd thy own Deſtiny. Prepare now " to go cheerfully to *Perſia* with thoſe I ſhall " appoint to attend thee; where thou ſhalt " find thy Father and Mother, very different " in Condition from the Herdſman *Mitradates* " and his Wife." After theſe Words, *Cyrus* was diſmiſs'd by *Aſtyages*; and upon his Arrival at the Houſe of *Cambyſes*, his Parents receiv'd and embrac'd him with the greateſt Tenderneſs, as a Child they had long given over for dead; and aſk'd him, by what Means his Life had been

been preſerv'd. He ſaid, he had liv'd in the deepeſt Ignorance of his Condition, and knew nothing of his own Misfortunes, but believ'd he was the Son of the King's Herdſman; till thoſe, who accompany'd him in this Journey, inform'd him of all that had paſs'd. He related the Manner of his Education under the Care of the Herdſman's Wife, and frequently repeating the Name of *Cyno*, commended her on every Occaſion. This Name his Parents made uſe of to perſuade the Perſians that the Preſervation of *Cyrus* was particularly owing to a divine Power, affirming that a Bitch had nouriſh'd him, when he was expos'd in the Deſert: And hence the Original of that Fable is deriv'd.

When *Cyrus* had attain'd to the Age of a Man, and was become the moſt belov'd and moſt brave of all his Equals in Years, *Harpagus* vehemently deſiring to be reveng'd upon *Aſtyages*, and deſpairing to accompliſh his Ends by his own Power, becauſe he was but a private Man, courted him with Preſents; and judging the Injuries they had ſuffer'd to be of like Nature, made a Friendſhip with him. He did yet more to bring about his Purpoſe. For ſeeing the Medes oppreſs'd by the Cruelty of *Aſtyages*, he applied himſelf to the principal Perſons of the Nation, one after another, and perſuaded them that they ought to depoſe him, and advance *Cyrus* to the Throne in his Place. When he had done this, and prepar'd the *Medes* to ſecond his Deſign, he reſolv'd to diſcover his Intentions to *Cyrus*; and having no other Way left, becauſe Guards were plac'd on all the Roads that lead to *Perſia*, he contriv'd the following Artifice. He open'd the Belly of a Hare,

Hare, and without tearing any Part, put a Letter, containing what he thought neceſſary to write, into the Body; and having ſew'd it up ſo artfully that the Inciſion was not viſible, he deliver'd the Hare with a Net to the moſt truſty of his Domeſtick Officers, cloath'd in the Habit of a Hunter; commanding him to go to *Perſia*, and upon the Delivery of the Hare, to deſire *Cyrus* not to open it in the Preſence of any other Perſon. The Meſſenger executed his Orders, and *Cyrus* opening the Hare with his own Hands, found a Letter in which he read theſe Words, "Son of *Cambyſes*, the peculiar "Care of the Gods, as thy Preſervation evi- "dently demonſtrates! Reſolve now to puniſh "thy Murderer *Aſtyages*; for he did all he "could to compaſs thy Death; but Heaven "and my Care have preſerv'd thee. I need "not repeat what he has done againſt thee, "nor what I have ſuffer'd from him for deli- "vering thee to the Herdſman, inſtead of exe- "cuting his bloody Orders, becauſe I ſuppoſe "thou haſt been long inform'd of theſe Things. "At preſent, if thou wilt follow my Counſel, "all the Dominions which *Aſtyages* poſſeſſes "ſhall be thine. Perſuade the Perſians to re- "volt, and at the Head of their Forces invade "*Media*. The Succeſs is certain, whether "*Aſtyages* appoint me or any other illuſtrious "Mede to command his Army. For all the "principal Perſons among the Medes will de- "ſert him; and joining with thee, will en- "deavour to dethrone him. Defer not the "Execution of this Enterprize; becauſe all "Things are ready on our Part." *Cyrus* having read theſe Words, began to conſider what Mea-

ſures he ſhould take to perſuade the Perſians to revolt; and after various Thoughts, fix'd upon this Method as the moſt proper. He fram'd a Letter in ſuch Terms as he thought fit, and call'd an Aſſembly of Perſians; in which, when he had open'd and read the Letter, he declar'd, that *Aſtyages* had conſtituted him Captain General of *Perſia:* "And now, ſaid he, I com-"mand you to attend me, every Man with his "Hatchet." The Perſians are divided into many Tribes, of which thoſe that *Cyrus* ſummon'd and perſuaded to revolt are the principal, and influence all the reſt. They are the Arteates, the Perſians, the Peſargades, the Meraphians, and the Maſians. But of all theſe, the Peſargades are eſteem'd the moſt brave, and comprehend the Achæmenian Family, of which the Kings of *Perſia* are deſcended. The reſt are, the Panthelians, the Deruſians, and the Germanians, who are all Huſbandmen; but the Daians, the Mardians, the Dropicians, and the Sagartians are Keepers of Cattle. When they came to *Cyrus* with their Hatchets, he order'd them to clear in one Day a Piece of Land, containing eighteen or twenty Stades overgrown with Briars; and after they had done that Work, he bid them go Home and waſh, and attend him again the next Day. In the mean Time he order'd all his Father's Flocks and Herds to be kill'd and dreſs'd; providing Wine, and the beſt of Things in Abundance, to treat the whole military Power of *Perſia.* The next Day when they were all aſſembled, and ſeated on the Green Turf, he feaſted them plentifully; and after they had din'd, aſk'd, whether they would chuſe to live always in that Manner, or as they had

had done the Day before. They anſwer'd, the Difference was great; for they had paſs'd the preceding Day in Toil and Labour, and this in Mirth and Pleaſure. *Cyrus* perceiving the Tendency of theſe Words, diſcover'd his Intentions, and ſaid; "Men of *Perſia*, If you will "hearken to my Counſel, you ſhall enjoy theſe, "and infinite other Advantages, without any "Kind of ſervile Labour; but if you refuſe, "innumerable Hardſhips like thoſe of Yeſterday "are prepar'd for you. Believe me therefore, "and be a free People. For I am perſuaded "ſome Divine Power brought me into the "World, to be the Author of your Happineſs: "Neither can I think you any Way inferior "to the Medes; eſpecially in Military Af-"fairs: And, if theſe Things are ſo, deliver "yourſelves without Delay from the Tyranny "of *Aſtyages*." The Perſians, who during many Years had liv'd in Reluctancy under the Obedience of the Medes, accepted him for their Leader, and readily re-aſſum'd their Liberty.

ASTYAGES being inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, ſent a Meſſenger for *Cyrus*; who by the ſame Perſon return'd this Anſwer: "That he "would come ſooner than *Aſtyages* deſir'd." Which when the King heard, he arm'd all the Medes; and, as if the Gods had depriv'd him of Underſtanding, made *Harpagus* General of his Army, utterly forgetting the Outrage he had done him. So that when the two Nations came to a Battle, tho' ſome of the Medes, who knew nothing of the Conſpiracy, behav'd themſelves with Courage; yet great Numbers revolted to the Perſians; and the far greater Part willingly

loſing the Day, fled out of the Field. The Army of the Medes being thus ſhamefully diſſipated, and the News brought to *Aſtyages*, he broke into a great Rage, and threatn'd *Cyrus* that he ſhould not long enjoy the Pleaſure of his Victory. After which, having firſt commanded the Mages who had interpreted his Dream, to be impal'd, for adviſing him to ſend *Cyrus* to *Perſia*, he arm'd all the Medes he found in the City, both old and young; and marching out with theſe Forces, engag'd the Enemy: In which Action he loſt the Day, with his whole Army, and was himſelf made Priſoner by the Perſians. *Harpagus* ſtanding by *Aſtyages* after he was taken, reproach'd and inſulted him openly; and among other Diſcourſe tending to imbitter his Calamity, aſk'd, What he thought of his Feaſt, when he compell'd him to eat the Fleſh of his own Son; by which he had now exchang'd a Kingdom for a Priſon. *Aſtyages* looking ſtedfaſtly on *Harpagus*, demanded, Whether he thought himſelf the Author of the late Succeſs obtain'd by *Cyrus?* He anſwer'd, Yes; becauſe by his Letter he had animated *Cyrus* to this War; and therefore might juſtly lay claim to the Enterprize. *Aſtyages* ſaid, he was then the weakeſt and moſt unjuſt of all Men: The weakeſt, in giving the Kingdom to another, which he might have aſſum'd to himſelf, if indeed he had effected this Change; and the moſt unjuſt, in enſlaving the Medes on Account of the Supper. For, if he was neceſſitated to confer the Kingdom on another Perſon, and not to take the Power to himſelf, he might with more Juſtice have advanc'd a Mede to that Dignity than a Perſian: Whereas now the Medes, who before

were

were Maſters of *Perſia*, and had no Part in the Fault, were by his Means reduc'd to the Condition of Servants; and the Perſians, who had been Servants to the Medes, were become their Lords. In this Manner *Aſtyages* was depriv'd of the Kingdom, after he had reign'd Thirty five Years; and by his Cruelty the Medes became ſubject to the Perſians, after they had commanded in all thoſe Parts of *Aſia* that lie beyond the River *Halys*, for the Space of One hundred and twenty eight Years, the Time of the Scythian Dominion only excepted. Yet afterwards repenting of what they had done, they revolted againſt *Darius*; but were again defeated in a Battle; and the Perſians, who under the Conduct of *Cyrus* had taken Arms againſt *Aſtyages* and the Medes, have from that Time been Maſters of *Aſia*. As for *Aſtyages*, *Cyrus* kept him in his Palace till he died, without exerciſing any farther Severity againſt him. And this is the Account of the Birth, Education, and Advancement of *Cyrus* to the Dignity of a King. How he afterwards conquer'd *Cræſus*, who invaded his Territories without Cauſe, I have related before.

The Cuſtoms which I have obſerv'd among the Perſians are theſe. They make no Images, nor build either Altars or Temples; charging thoſe with Folly who do ſuch Things; becauſe, as I conjecture, they hold the Gods to be altogether different in Nature from Men, contrary to the Opinion of the Grecians. When they go to offer a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, they aſcend the higheſt Parts of the Mountains; and call the whole Circle of the Heavens by the Name of *Jupiter*. They ſacrifice to the Sun and Moon,

to the Earth, the Fire, the Water, and the Winds. Theſe are their Original Gods; but they have ſince learnt from the Arabians and Aſſyrians to ſacrifice to *Venus Urania*, who by the Arabians is call'd *Alitta*, by the Aſſyrians *Mylitta*, and by the Perſians *Mitra*. When a Perſian reſolves to ſacrifice, he builds no Altar, kindles no Fire, makes no Libation, nor uſes either Flutes, Fillets, or conſecrated Flower; but wearing a Tiara garniſh'd chiefly with Myrtle on his Head, leads the Victim to a clean Piece of Ground, and invokes the God. He that offers is not permitted to pray for himſelf alone; but as he is a Member of the Nation, is oblig'd to pray for the Proſperity of all the Perſians, and in particular for the King. When he has cut the Victim into ſmall Pieces, and boil'd the Fleſh, he lays it on a Bed of tender Graſs, eſpecially Trefoil; and after all Things are thus diſpos'd, one of the Mages ſtanding up ſings an Ode concerning the Original of the Gods, which, they ſay, has the Force of a Charm; and without one of theſe they are not permitted to ſacrifice. After this, he that offer'd having continued a ſhort Time in the Place, carries away and diſpoſes of the Fleſh as he thinks fit. They are perſuaded, that every Man ought to celebrate his Birthday above all other Days, and furniſh his Table in a more plentiful Manner than at other Times. Beeves, Camels, Horſes, and Aſſes, roaſted intire, are ſeen in the Houſes of the Rich on that Day; and ſmaller Cattle in thoſe of the meaner Sort. They are moderate in the Uſe of common Food; but eat plentifully of the Deſert, which yet is not very delicious, tho' they thence take Occaſion

to

to ſay, that the Grecians riſe hungry from Table; and that if they had any Thing good ſet before them after their Repaſt, they would not leave off Eating ſo ſoon. The Perſians drink Wine in abundance; but may not vomit or make Water before any Man. Theſe Cuſtoms are obſerv'd to this Day. They debate the moſt important Affairs in the midſt of their Cups: But the Maſter of the Houſe where they meet to conſult, propoſes the ſame Things the next Day to the Company; and if when they have not drunk at all, their preceding Reſolutions are approv'd, they ſtand, and, if not, are rejected. In like Manner, when they drink they reſume the Conſideration of whatever they debate before their Wine. When they meet one another in the Way, Men may eaſily know their Condition and Quality. For if they are Equals, they ſalute with a Kiſs on the Mouth: If one be a little inferior to the other, they kiſs on the Cheek; but if he be of a much lower Rank, he proſtrates himſelf before the other. They give the greateſt Honour to their neareſt Neighbours, leſs to ſuch as are more remote, and leaſt of all to thoſe who live at the greateſt Diſtance; eſteeming themſelves much more worthy in every Thing than the reſt of Men, and others to participate of Virtue only in Proportion to the Nearneſs of their Situation; always accounting thoſe the worſt and moſt baſe, who inhabit fartheſt from them. During the Empire of the Medes, each Nation had a gradual Superiority: For tho' the Medes had the ſupreme Power, yet they exercis'd a more particular Authority over thoſe that were neareſt to them; theſe again, over ſuch as liv'd next be-

yond their Borders; and the laſt in like Manner over their Neighbours of the adjoining Country: Which Example the Perſians imitated, when increaſing in Power, they obtain'd the Dominion, with the Government of Provinces. No Nation has ever been more ready to admit foreign Cuſtoms. They wear the Habit of the Medes; which they think more becoming than their own; and in War they uſe the Ægyptian Cuiraſs. They are deſirous to enjoy all Kinds of Pleaſure they here mention'd, and have learnt from the Grecians to make love to Boys. The Virgins they take for their Wives are many; but their Concubines are far more numerous. To be a Father of many Children is accounted a Part of Manhood little inferior to Military Courage; and ſuch Perſons as can ſhew a numerous Offspring, receive yearly Preſents from the King, becauſe they think their Strength conſiſts in their Numbers. From the Age of five Years to that of twenty, the Perſians inſtruct their Sons in three Things only; to manage a Horſe, to ſhoot dextrouſly with a Bow, and to ſpeak Truth. A Son is not admitted to the Preſence of his Father, but is brought up by Women, till he attain the Age of five Years; leſt if he ſhould die before that Time, his Father might be afflicted by the Loſs. Theſe Cuſtoms relating to Education I much approve; and likewiſe that, by which even the King is reſtrain'd from killing any Man for a ſingle Crime; and every private Perſian from exerciſing the utmoſt Severity againſt thoſe of his Family for one Fault. He is firſt to conſider the Actions of the Delinquent; and if his Faults are found to over-balance his former Services, he

he may puniſh him at Pleaſure. They ſay, no one has ever kill'd his Father or Mother; and that if at any Time ſuch a Crime comes into Queſtion, the Perſon accus'd ſhall certainly upon due Information be found to have been ſuppoſititious, or begotten in Adultery; for they hold it utterly improbable that a true Father ſhould be murder'd by his own Son. They are not allow'd even to mention the Things they may not do. To affirm a Falſhood, is among them the utmoſt Infamy; and to be in Debt is for many Reaſons accounted the next Degree of Diſgrace; but eſpecially becauſe they think ſuch a Man always expos'd to the Neceſſity of Lying. If any of the Citizens have a Leproſy, or ſcrophulous Diſeaſe, he is not permitted to ſtay within the City, nor to converſe with other Perſians; having, as they believe, drawn this Puniſhment upon himſelf, by committing ſome Offence againſt the Sun. But if Strangers are infected with thoſe Diſtempers, they are preſently expell'd the Country: And white Pigeons are not ſuffer'd to be kept, from Motives of the ſame Kind. They never ſpit, nor waſh their Hands, in a River; nor defile the Stream with Urine or any other Thing; but pay a moſt Religious Reverence to running Waters. Their Language has one Thing peculiar; which tho' unknown to them, is well underſtood by us. For all Names repreſenting the Perſon or Dignity of a Man, terminate in that Letter which the Dorians call *San*, and the Ionians *Sigma*. And every one upon Inquiry will find, that all Perſian Names, without Exception, end in the ſame Letter. Theſe Things I can with certainty affirm

to

to be true. But, as their Cuſtoms relating to the Dead are more conceal'd and not ſo manifeſt, I cannot ſay that all the Perſians are expos'd for a Prey to ſome Dog or Bird before they are buried; but I certainly know this to be the Manner of the Mages; for 'tis done openly. The Perſians cover the Body with a ſufficient Quantity of Wax, and aftewards lay it in the Ground. Their Mages not only differ from all other Men, but even from the Ægyptian Prieſts, who will not pollute themſelves by killing any Animal, except thoſe they ſacrifice to the Gods: Whereas the Mages make no Scruple to kill every Thing with their own Hands, except a Man or a Dog; and think they do a meritorious Thing, when they deſtroy Ants, Serpents, Birds or Reptils. And thus having deſcrib'd theſe Uſages, I return to my Narration.

When the Ionians and Æolians heard that the Lydians had been ſo eaſily conquer'd by the Perſians, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Cyrus* before his Departure from *Sardis*, to make an Offer of their Submiſſion to him, on the ſame Terms they obtain'd under the Government of *Cræſus*. Which Propoſition *Cyrus* hearing, made them no other Anſwer than this; "A Piper "ſeeing many Fiſhes in the Sea, and imagining "he might entice them to the Shore, by his "Muſick, began to play; but finding his Hopes "diſappointed, he threw a Net into the Wa-"ter, and having enclos'd a great Number, "drew it to the Land. When the Piper ſaw "the Fiſhes leaping on the Ground, he ſaid, "Since you would not dance to my Pipe be-"fore, you may now forbear dancing at all." This Apologue was a Reprimand to the Ionians

ans and Æolians; who, when *Cyrus* preſs'd them by his Ambaſſador to revolt from *Cræſus*, refus'd to conſent, and now were ready to comply with his Deſires, becauſe they ſaw the Succeſs of his Arms. With this Anſwer, which *Cyrus* gave in Anger, the Ionians return'd home; and having fortified their Cities, met together in a general Aſſembly of the whole League, the Mileſians only excepted, who were ſingly admitted into the Alliance of *Cyrus* on the Foot of their former Agreement with the Lydian. All the reſt of the Ionians met, and unanimouſly reſolv'd to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Sparta*, earneſtly to deſire Succour from the Lacedemonians. The Ionian Cities, of which this Confederacy conſiſts, are more commodiouſly and happily plac'd than any other we know among Men; for neither the Regions that are above *Ionia* on one Side, nor thoſe that lie below on the other, nor any Part ſituate either to the Eaſt or Weſt, can juſtly be compar'd with this Country; becauſe they are either chill'd with Cold and Rain, or expos'd to the Exceſſes of Heat and Dryneſs. All the Ionians are not of the ſame Language; but have four different Ways of expreſſing themſelves. The City of *Miletus* lies to the Southward, and is accounted the principal of this League. The next are *Myus* and *Priene*. Theſe three are ſituate in *Caria*, and uſe the ſame Dialect. *Epheſus*, *Colophon*, *Lebedus*, *Teos*, *Clazomene*, and *Phocæa*, are Part of *Lydia*; and though they vary not at all from one another in their Manner of ſpeaking, yet their Language is different from the other. The reſt of the Ionian Communities are three, two of which inhabit the Iſlands of *Chios* and *Samos*;

mos; but the Erythræans are plac'd on the Continent. This People uſe the ſame Dialect with thoſe of *Chios*; whereas the Samians have one peculiar to themſelves. And theſe are the four Proprieties of Speech obſerv'd in *Ionia*.

AMONG theſe Ionians, the Mileſians made their Peace with *Cyrus*, to exempt themſelves from the Apprehenſions of his Power. But the Iſlanders had nothing to fear; becauſe the Phœnicians were not then under the Obedience of the Perſians, nor were the Perſians at all acquainted with maritime Affairs. This Separation of the Mileſians, had no other Foundation than the Weakneſs of the Grecians in general, and of the Ionians in particular; who were the weakeſt of all, and in no Manner of Eſteem. The Athenians alone, among all thoſe of that Extraction, were of conſiderable Fame. But, neither they nor others were willing to be call'd Ionians; as indeed in our Time the greater Part ſeems to be aſham'd of the Name. Yet, the twelve Cities not only gloried in their Name, but built a Temple, which from themſelves they call'd *Pan-Ionion*, and reſolv'd not to communicate the Privilege of that Place to any other Ionians; neither have others ever deſir'd to be admitted; except the Smyrnæans alone. In this they reſembled thoſe Dorians, now known by the Name of the *Five Cities*, which were formerly ſix in Number; who not only conſtantly refus'd to admit any of the neighbouring Dorians into their Temple at *Triope*; but excluded ſome of their own Community for tranſgreſſing the eſtabliſh'd Orders. For in thoſe Exerciſes that were perform'd there in Honour of *Apollo*, a Tripos of Braſs was the Reward of the

the victorious; which yet no Man might carry out of the Temple, but was oblig'd to leave depoſited on the Altar of the God. Nevertheleſs, when *Agaſicles* of *Halicarnaſſus* won the Prize, and violated their Cuſtom, by carrying away the Tripos, and affixing it to his own Houſe, the five Cities of *Lindus*, *Ialiſſus*, *Camirus*, *Coſs*, and *Cnidus*, excluded that City, which was the ſixth, from the Union; and puniſh'd the Halicarnaſſians in that Manner.

THE Ionians ſeem to have form'd themſelves into twelve Cities, and reſolv'd to admit no more into their Society, becauſe they had been divided into juſt ſo many Parts, when they inhabited in *Peloponeſus*; as the Achaians, who drove out thoſe Ionians, now conſiſt of the ſame Number. The City of *Pellena*, fronting towards *Sicyon*, is the firſt of the Achaian League: The next are *Ægyra*, and *Ægæ*, which is water'd by the perpetual Streams of the River *Crathis*, from whence that of *Italy* takes its Name: After theſe, *Bura*, and *Helicæ*, to which Place the Ionians fled, when they were defeated by the Achaians: *Ægyon*, *Rhipes*, *Patras*, *Phare*, and *Olenus*, through which runs the great River *Pirus*: The reſt are *Dyma* and *Tritæa*, the only inland Places among them. Theſe are the twelve Parts of the Achaian Territories, which formerly belong'd to the Ionians; and on that Account they conſtituted the ſame Number of Cities in their new Eſtabliſhment. For to ſay that theſe are more properly Ionians, or any Way more conſiderable, than other Ionians, is great Folly; when we know that the Abantes from *Eubœa*, who had neither Name, nor any other Thing in common with the Ionians, are no inconſi-

conſiderable Part of this Colony; and that the Minyan Orchomenians, the Cadmæans, Dryopians and Moloſſians, with the Pelaſgians of *Arcadia*, the Dorians, Epidaurians, and many other People, were intermix'd with them; as well as the Athenians, who were ſent by the Prytanæan Council, and thought themſelves the moſt Illuſtrious of the Ionians. They had no Wives with them when they came to ſettle in this Country; but ſeiz'd a ſufficient Number of Carian Women, after they had kill'd their Parents: And, for that Reaſon, thoſe Women enter'd into a mutual Compact, which they confirm'd by an Oath, and tranſmitted as ſacred to their Daughters, that they would never eat with their Huſbands, nor ever call them by their Names; becauſe they had kill'd their Fathers, their Huſbands, and their Children, and after ſuch Violences had forc'd them to ſubmit to their Will. This Action was done in the Country of *Miletus*.

THE Ionians appointed Kings to govern them; ſome chuſing Lycians of the Poſterity of *Glaucus*; others electing out of the Pylian Caucones, who are deſcended from *Codrus* the Son of *Melanthus*; and ſome again from both thoſe Families. They are exceedingly pleas'd with the Name of Ionians, and are true and genuine Ionians; as all thoſe are, who derive their Original from *Athens*, and celebrate the Apaturian Feſtival, which is univerſally obſerv'd in *Ionia*, except by the Epheſians and Colophonians; but theſe alone are excluded, under the Pretext of ſome Murder. The *Pan-Ionion* is a ſacred Place in *Mycale*, ſituate to the Northward, and dedicated by the Ionian Confederacy

to

to *Neptune* of *Helicon*: And *Mycale* is a Promontory on the Continent, leaning on the South-Weſt Side, towards *Samos*. In this Place the Ionians met to celebrate the Pan-Ionian Solemnity: And we ſhall obſerve by the Way, that not only the Ionian, but all the Grecian Feſtivals terminate, like the Perſian Names, in the ſame Letter.

HAVING given this Account of the Ionian Cities, I ſhall proceed to thoſe of the Æolians; which are, *Cyme*, otherwiſe call'd *Phriconis*, *Lariſſa*, *Neontichus*, *Tenus*, *Cylla*, *Notion*, *Ægiræſſa*, *Pitane*, *Ægæa*, *Myrina*. Theſe are eleven of the twelve Cities formerly belonging to the Æolians; but *Smyrna*, which was the other, was ruin'd by the Ionians. They all ſtand on the Continent in a Region of greater Extent, but inferior in Climate to that of the Ionians. The Æolians were depriv'd of *Smyrna* in this Manner. A great Number of Colophonians having unſucceſsfully mutinied at home, and being forc'd on that Account to abandon their Country, came to *Smyrna*, where they were receiv'd and protected by the Inhabitants. But ſome Time after their Arrival while the People were celebrating the Rites of *Bacchus* without the Walls, they took that Opportunity to ſhut the Gates and ſeize the City. Upon which, when the Æolians came with all their Forces to ſuccour the Smyrnæans, the Diſpute was determin'd by an Agreement, conceiv'd in theſe Terms; That the Ionians ſhould reſtore all moveable Goods, and that the Æolians on their Part ſhould quit their Claim to the City. The Smyrnæans conſenting to theſe Conditions, were diſtributed into the other eleven Cities, and permitted

mitted to enjoy the Privilege of Citizens. Theſe Places belonging to the Æolians, are on the Continent; beſides thoſe about Mount *Ida*, which lie at a great Diſtance. In the Iſlands they had the following Cities: Five in *Leſbos*; for the Methymnians deſtroy'd *Ariſba*, which was the ſixth, though they were of the ſame Blood; one in *Tenedos*; and another in the *Hundred Iſlands*. The Leſbians, with thoſe of *Tenedos*, and the Ionians of the Iſlands, were under no Fear of the Perſian Power; and all the other Cities had taken a Reſolution to follow, whereſoever the Ionians ſhould lead.

The Ambaſſadors of the Ionians and Æolians having perform'd their Voyage with all poſſible Diligence, and arriving in *Sparta*, made choice of *Pythermus* a Phocæan to ſpeak in the Name of all; who, to bring a greater Number of Lacedemonians together, cloath'd himſelf in a Purple Habit, and in a long Speech implor'd their Aſſiſtance. But, the Spartans rejecting his Requeſt, determin'd not to ſuccour the Ionians in any Manner: Upon which the Ambaſſadors return'd home. Yet the Lacedemonians, though they had diſmiſs'd the Ionian Embaſſy with a plain Denial, ſent away certain Perſons by Sea, to obſerve, as I conjecture, what ſhould paſs between *Cyrus* and the Ionians. Theſe Men arriving in *Phocæa*, ſent *Lacrines*, who was the moſt eminent Perſon among them, to *Sardis*, with Inſtructions to acquaint *Cyrus*, That if he ſhould commit any Hoſtility againſt the Grecian Cities, they would not paſs by the Indignity. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he inquir'd of the Grecians that were preſent, who the Lacedemonians were, and what Number of Men they could

could bring into the Field? And being inform'd of theſe Particulars, he ſaid to the Spartan; "I was never afraid of thoſe, who in the midſt "of their Cities have a Place of publick Re- "ſort, where they cheat one another by mu- "tual Oaths: And if I continue in Life and "Health, they ſhall have ſufficient Cauſe to "be concern'd for their own Calamities, with- "out diſquieting themſelves about thoſe of "the Ionians." Theſe Words of *Cyrus* were levell'd at all the Grecians in general, who in every City have ſome publick Place for the Uſes of buying and ſelling; but the Perſians have none of theſe, nor any Place of publick Meeting at all.

CYRUS having entruſted *Tabalus* a Perſian with the Government of *Sardis*, and appointed *Pactyas* a Lydian to bring away the Gold found in the Treaſury of *Cræſus*, and other Parts of the City, took *Cræſus* with him, and departed for *Ecbatana*. And becauſe he expected to find more Reſiſtance from the Babylonians, Bactrians, Saces and Ægyptians, than from the Ionians, whoſe Power he deſpis'd; he reſolv'd to lead his Army in Perſon againſt thoſe Nations, and to ſend another General againſt the Ionians. But as ſoon as he was retir'd from *Sardis*, *Pactyas* prevail'd with the Lydians to revolt from him, and putting to Sea with all the Riches of *Lydia* in his Poſſeſſion, engag'd the maritime Places to join with him; and after he had rais'd a good Number of Mercenaries, march'd to *Sardis*, and beſieg'd *Tabalus*, who had ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle. Which News when *Cyrus* heard, as he was on his Way, he ſpoke to *Cræſus* in theſe Terms; "What will be the End of theſe

" Things? And when will the Lydians ceaſe to " give Diſturbance to me, and to themſelves? " I have almoſt determin'd to deſtroy the Na- " tion, and to reduce the People to the Condi- " tion of Servants; perſuaded, that I have " done as imprudently as thoſe, who after hav- " ing kill'd the Father, ſhould ſpare the Lives " of his Sons. For I compel you, who have " been more than a Father to the Lydians, to " follow me as a Priſoner, and at the ſame Time " have reinſtated them in the Poſſeſſion of their " City: And, now, ſhall I wonder at their Re- " bellion!" When *Cyrus* had thus plainly deliver'd his Thoughts, *Cræſus* fearing the utter Ruin of *Sardis*, anſwer'd; " SIR, You have " but too much Reaſon for what you ſay; yet " you will do better to moderate your Indigna- " tion, and not to deſtroy an ancient City, al- " together innocent of this, as well as of the " former Offence. I myſelf committed the " firſt Fault, and am now actually under the " Puniſhment. But as *Pactyas*, who was en- " truſted by you, is guilty of this ſecond; let " him be treated as his Crime deſerves, and let " the Lydians be pardon'd. Yet to the End " they may never more revolt, nor be trouble- " ſome to you, command all their Arms to be " taken away; and enjoin them to wear Veſts " and Buſkins, and to teach their Sons to ſing, " to play on the Harp, and to drink in Publick- " Houſes. For, by theſe Means, you will ſoon " ſee the manly Spirit of the Lydians degene- " rate into a womaniſh Weakneſs; ſo that they " will never rebel, nor be formidable to you in " Time to come." *Cræſus* ſuggeſted this Method to *Cyrus*, becauſe he judg'd the Lydians would

would be leſs unhappy under ſuch Circumſtances, than if they ſhould be ſold for Slaves; and was perſuaded, that unleſs he could frame ſome plauſible Pretext, he ſhould not prevail with him to alter his Reſolution: Neither was he without Apprehenſion, that if the Lydians ſhould otherwiſe eſcape the preſent Danger, they might hereafter revolt from the Perſians, and bring utter Ruin on themſelves. *Cyrus* pleas'd with the Expedient, told *Crœſus* he would take his Advice; and ſending for *Mazares* a Mede, commanded him to order the Lydians to conform themſelves to the Regulations propos'd by *Crœſus*; and to treat all thoſe as Slaves, who had aſſiſted in the Attempt upon *Sardis*; but above all, to bring *Pactyas* alive to him: And having given theſe Orders in his Way, he return'd to *Perſia*.

PACTYAS being inform'd that the Army was approaching with Deſign to fall upon him, fled in great Conſternation to *Cymè*; and *Mazares* with that Part of the Perſian Forces he had, march'd directly to *Sardis*. But not finding *Pactyas* and his Followers there, he, in the firſt Place, conſtrain'd the Lydians to conform themſelves to the Orders preſcrib'd by *Cyrus*, and totally to alter their Manner of Life: After which he diſpatch'd Meſſengers to *Cyme*, with Inſtructions to demand the Perſon of *Pactyas*. The Cymæans call'd a Council on this Occaſion, and reſolv'd to conſult the ancient Oracle of *Branchis*, which was frequented by all the Ionians and Æolians, and ſtands in the Territory of *Miletus*, a little above the Port of *Panormus*. When the Perſons, who were ſent to the Oracle, arriv'd at *Branchis*, and pray'd to be in-

form'd what they ſhould do, that might be moſt pleaſing to the Gods, they were commanded to deliver *Pactyas* to the Perſians: Which Anſwer being brought to the Cymæans, determin'd the Majority to decree that he ſhould be ſurrender'd accordingly. But after they had taken that Reſolution, *Ariſtodicus* the Son of *Heraclides*, one of the principal Men of the City, either diſtruſting the Faith of the Oracle, or ſuſpecting the Sincerity of the Conſulters, prevail'd with the Cymæans to ſuſpend the Execution of their Decree, and to ſend other Perſons to enquire a ſecond Time concerning *Pactyas*. By this means another Deputation was reſolv'd, and *Ariſtodicus* was choſen for one; who arriving with the other Deputies at *Branchis*, conſulted the Oracle in the Name of the reſt, uſing theſe Words; "O King, *Pactyas* the Lydian came to us as a "Suppliant, to avoid a violent Death from the "Hands of the Perſians. They have demanded "him of the Cymæans, and reſolve to admit no "Denial. We who are under great Apprehen-"ſions of the Perſian Power, have not yet dar'd "to ſurrender the Suppliant, 'till we ſhall be "plainly inform'd by thee, what we ought to "do in this Conjuncture." Thus ſpoke *Ariſtodicus*; but the Oracle gave the ſame Anſwer as before, and again admoniſh'd them to ſurrender *Pactyas* to the Perſians. Upon which *Ariſtodicus*, in purſuance of the Deſign he had form'd, walking round the Temple, took away all the Sparrows, and other Birds he found in the Neſts that were within the Limits of the Place: And when he had ſo done, 'tis reported, a Voice was heard from the innermoſt Part of the Temple, directing theſe Words to *Ariſtodicus*; "O thou "moſt

" moſt wicked of all Men, how dareſt thou " thus tear my Suppliants from under my Pro- " tection?" *Ariſtodicus* readily anſwer'd, " Art " thou then ſo careful to ſuccour thy Suppliants, " and yet ſo forward to command the Cymæ- " ans to abandon *Pactyas* to the Perſians?" " Yes, ſaid the Voice, I command it; that " ſuch impious Men as you are may ſuddenly " periſh, and never more diſturb the Oracle " with Queſtions of like Nature." When this laſt Anſwer was brought to *Cyme*, the People, being unwilling either to ſurrender *Pactyas* to be deſtroy'd by the Perſians, or to draw a War upon themſelves by protecting him, ſent him away to *Mitylene*. Some ſay the Mitylenæans, upon a Meſſage they receiv'd from *Mazares*, agreed to deliver *Pactyas* into his Hands for a certain Reward; but I cannot affirm this, becauſe the Thing was never effected. For the Cymæans being inform'd of what was doing in *Mitylene*, diſpatch'd a Veſſel to *Leſbos*, and tranſported *Pactyas* to *Chio*: Where he was taken by Violence from the Temple of *Minerva* Protectreſs of the City, and deliver'd up by the Chians: Who in Recompence were put into Poſſeſſion of *Atarneus*, a Place ſituate in *Myſia*, over-againſt *Leſbos*. In this Manner *Pactyas* fell into the Hands of the Perſians, and was kept under Confinement, in order to be conducted to *Cyrus*. And for a long Time after this Action, none of the Chians would uſe the Barley of *Atarneus* in their Offerings to the Gods, or make any Confection of the Fruits produc'd by that Country; but totally abſtain'd from the whole Growth of thoſe Lands in all their Temples.

When the Chians had deliver'd up *Pactyas*, *Mazares* march'd with his Forces againſt thoſe who had aſſiſted in beſieging *Tabalus*; and having firſt deſtroy'd *Priene*, and ravag'd all the Plain that lies by the River *Mæander*, he abandon'd the Booty to his Army. But after he had treated the Magneſians in the ſame Manner, he fell ſick and died. Upon which, *Harpagus*, who was alſo a Mede, and the ſame Perſon, that having been entertain'd by *Aſtyages* at an execrable Feaſt, had open'd a Way for *Cyrus* to aſcend to the Throne, came down to command the Army in his Place. This Man being appointed General by *Cyrus*, and arriving in *Ionia*, took ſeveral Cities, by throwing up Earth-Works to the Walls, after he had forc'd the People to retire within their fortified Places. *Phocæa* was the firſt of the Ionian Cities that fell into his Hands. Theſe Phocæans were the firſt of all the Grecians who undertook long Voyages, and diſcover'd the Coaſts of *Adria*, *Tyrrhenia*, *Iberia* and *Tarteſſus*. They made their Expeditions in Gallies of fifty Oars, and us'd no Ships of a rounder Form. When they arriv'd at *Tarteſſus*, they were kindly receiv'd by *Arganthonius* the King of that Country, who had then reign'd fourſcore Years, and liv'd to the Age of one Hundred and twenty. They had ſo much of his Favour, that he at firſt ſollicited them to leave *Ionia*, and to ſettle in any Part of his Kingdom they ſhould chuſe; but afterwards finding he could not prevail with the Phocæans to accept his Offer, and hearing they were in great Danger from the increaſing Power of the Medes, he preſented them with Treaſure to defray the Expence of building a Wall round

their

their City; which he did with ſo liberal a Hand, that the whole Structure, comprehending no ſmall Number of Stades in Circumference, was built with large and well compacted Stone. *Harpagus* arriving with his Army before this City, firſt ſent a Meſſage to acquaint the Phocæans within, that if they would demoliſh one of the Towers built upon their Wall, and conſecrate one Edifice, he would reſt contented. The Phocæans deteſting Slavery, anſwer'd, That they would take one Day to deliberate touching his Propoſal, if in the mean Time he would draw off his Forces from about the City. *Harpagus* ſaid, That though he well knew their Deſign; yet he would permit them to conſult together, as they deſir'd. But, when he had withdrawn his Army, the Phocæans made ready their Ships; and having put their Wives, Children, and Goods on board, together with the Images and other Things dedicated in their Temples, except Pictures, and Works of Braſs or Stone, they themſelves embark'd likewiſe, and ſet ſail for *Chio*: So that the Perſians at their Return found the City deſolate, and abandon'd by all the Inhabitants. The Phocæans arriving in *Chio*, deſir'd to purchaſe the *Œnuſſian Iſlands* of the Chians; but becauſe the Chians would not conſent to ſell them, leſt they ſhould become the Seat of Trade, and their own Iſland be excluded, they embark'd again, directing their Courſe to *Cyrnus*; where, by the Admonition of an Oracle, they had built a City, which they nam'd *Alalia*, twenty Years before. In their Paſſage to *Cyrnus*, turning in at *Phocæa*, they cut in Pieces the Perſian Garriſon left by *Harpagus* in the City; and about the ſame Time

Arganthonius died. Having deſtroy'd theſe Perſians, they pronounc'd terrible Imprecations againſt thoſe who ſhould ſtay behind; and bound themſelves by mutual Oaths, never to return to *Phocæa*, till a burning Ball of Iron, which they threw into the Sea on that Occaſion, ſhould appear again unextinguiſh'd. Nevertheleſs, as they were making towards *Cyrnus*, more than one half of the Fleet, mov'd by Regret and Affection for their native Country, broke through all theſe Engagements, and return'd to *Phocæa*; while the reſt reſolving to obſerve the Oaths they had taken, purſued their Voyage from the *Œnuſſian Iſlands* to *Cyrnus*. When they arriv'd there, they built divers Temples, and liv'd five Years in one Community with the former Colony. But becauſe in that Time they had ravag'd the Territories of all their Neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians combin'd together to make War againſt them, each Nation with ſixty Ships. The Phocæans on their Part fitted out their Fleet, conſiſting in all of ſixty Sail alſo; and coming up with the Enemy in the Sea of *Sardinia*, fought and conquer'd; but obtain'd a Cadmæan Victory: For forty of their own Ships were ſunk; and all the reſt having loſt their Prows, were utterly diſabled. After this Action, returning to *Alalia*, they put their Wives and Children on board again, with as much of their Goods as they could carry off, and leaving *Cyrnus*, ſail'd to *Rhegium*. Of thoſe Phocæans that loſt their Ships in the Fight, many fell into the Hands of the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians; who at their landing ſton'd them to Death in the Territory of *Agylla*. After which, all the Men and Cattle

Cattle that came into thoſe Parts, were ſeiz'd with a burning Diſtemper, attended by Convulſions and Madneſs. In this Extremity the Agyllians being deſirous to expiate the Crime, had Recourſe to the Oracle of *Delphi*; and the Pythian enjoin'd them to uſe thoſe Rites which they ſtill obſerve; for they commemorate the Death of the Phocæans with great Magnificence, and Gymnaſtick Combats. This was the Fate of theſe Phocæans; and as for the reſt, who fled to *Rhegium*, they left that Place, and in *Œnotria* built a City, which is now call'd *Hyele*, by the Advice of a certain Poſidonian; who told them they had miſtaken the Oracle, and that the Pythian meant they ſhould build a Monument for *Cyrnus* the Hero, and not a City in the Iſland of that Name.

THE Conduct of the Teians in this Conjuncture was not unlike that of the Phocæans. For when *Harpagus*, by the Advantage of his Earthworks, had made himſelf Maſter of their Walls, all the Teians went on board their Ships, and tranſporting themſelves to *Thrace*, ſettled in the City of *Abdera*; which *Timeſius* of *Clazomene* had formerly founded; but was afterwards driven out by the Thracians, who would not ſuffer him to continue in Poſſeſſion of the Place; where yet he is honour'd as a Hero at this Time by the Teians of *Abdera*. Theſe were the only People of all the Ionians, who choſe rather to abandon their Country, than ſubmit to Servitude. The reſt, except the Mileſians, were conquer'd by *Harpagus*, after they had as ſtrenuouſly defended their ſeveral Cities, as thoſe who left the Country; and when they were forc'd to ſurrender to a ſuperior Power, they

continued

continued to inhabit the ſame Places, and ſubmitted to the Will of the Conqueror. But the Mileſians having made a League with *Cyrus*, as I ſaid before, kept themſelves quiet during theſe Commotions. And in this Manner the Ionians of the Continent were a ſecond Time conquer'd; which put the Iſlanders under ſuch Conſternation, that they readily made their Submiſſion to *Cyrus*. Yet, as the Ionians, even in theſe Circumſtances, were permitted to meet in the Pan-Ionian Council, I am inform'd that *Bias* of *Priene* offer'd them ſuch ſalutary Advice in one of thoſe Aſſemblies, that if they had hearken'd to him, they might have been the moſt happy of all the Grecians. For he counſell'd the Ionians to tranſport themſelves in their Ships to *Sardinia*, and to have only one Capital City there, for the Uſe of the whole Confederacy; by which Means they would not only be deliver'd from Servitude; but inhabiting the moſt conſiderable of the Iſlands, could not fail of leading and governing all the reſt: Whereas ſhould they continue in *Ionia*, he ſaw no Hope of recovering their Liberty. This was the Counſel of *Bias* the Prienean, after the Ionians were ſubdued; but *Thales* the Mileſian, who was of Phœnician Deſcent, gave them the moſt uſeful Advice before that Calamity happen'd, in admoniſhing the Ionians to conſtitute one general Council of the whole League in the City of *Teos*, which ſtands in the Centre of *Ionia*; and to eſteem all the reſt of the inhabited Cities as ſo many equal Parts of the ſame Community. Such were the Sentiments of thoſe two Perſons.

HARPA-

HARPAGUS having ſubdu'd *Ionia*, led his Army, which he reinforc'd with Ionians and Æolians, againſt the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians came from the Iſlands to inhabit on the Continent. They were antiently call'd Leleges, and liv'd in the Iſlands under the Protection of *Minos*, paying no Kind of Tribute, that I could ever find by enquiring into the remoteſt Times. But when he had occaſion for Mariners, they aſſiſted him with their Ships in the great Conqueſts he made, and rais'd themſelves to a higher Degree of Reputation than any other Nation. They were the Inventers of three Things now in Uſe among the Grecians. For the Carians were the firſt who wore a Creſt upon their Helmets; adorn'd their Shields with various Figures; and invented the Handle, by which they are manag'd; whereas, before this Invention, the Shield hung about the Soldier's Neck by a Thong of Leather, and deſcended by the Left Shoulder. After a long Time, the Dorians and Ionians abandon'd the Iſlands likewiſe, as the Carians had done, and ſettled on the Continent: And this Account the Cretans give of the Carians. But the Carians not aſſenting to theſe Things, affirm they were originally Inhabitants of the Continent, and always went under the ſame Name. In Teſtimony of which they ſhew an antient Temple at *Mylaſa*, dedicated to the Carian *Jupiter*; where the Myſians and Lydians are admitted to participate with the Carians in their Worſhip, as Nations of the ſame Blood. For, ſay they, *Lydus* and *Myſus* were Brothers to *Cares*, and on that Account the Uſe of this Temple is communicated to their Poſterity, and not

to

to any other People, tho' of the ſame Language with the Carians. The Caunians, as I conjecture, are originally of the Country they inhabit, tho' they ſay their Anceſtors came from *Crete*. But whether they have accommodated their Language to that of the Carians, or the Carians have form'd their Speech by the Caunian, I cannot determine with Certainty. In their Cuſtoms and Manners the Caunians reſemble no other Nation, not even the Carians; accounting it a decent Thing in Men, Women, and Boys, to drink in great Companies, with their Friends, and with thoſe of the ſame Age. They antiently worſhipp'd the Gods of other Nations; but afterwards changing their Opinion, and reſolving to have no other than their own national Deities, they all arm'd themſelves, and in a petulant Manner brandiſhing their Spears in the Air, march'd up to the Mountains of *Calinda*, crying as they went, That they were expelling the Foreign Gods out of their Country. The Lycians derive their Original from *Crete*, which in antient Time was intirely in the Poſſeſſion of Barbarians. But *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, the Sons of *Europa*, contending for the Kingdom; *Sarpedon* being defeated by *Minos*, was driven out of the Iſland with all his Partizans, and landing in *Aſia*, ſettled in *Milyas*; for that was the antient Name of the Country which the Lycians now inhabit, tho' the Milyans were then call'd *Solymi*. During the Reign of *Sarpedon* they went by the Name they brought with them into *Aſia*; and in our Time are by their Neighbours call'd Termilians. But when *Lycus* the Son of *Pandion* was compell'd by his Brother *Ægeus* to quit *Athens*, he

he fled to *Sarpedon* at *Termile*, and from him the People began to be nam'd Lycians. Their Cuſtoms are, for the moſt Part, deriv'd from the Cretans and Carians; but they have one peculiar to themſelves, in which they differ from all other Nations. For they take their Names from their Mothers, and not from their Fathers; ſo that if any one be aſk'd who he is, and of what Family, he recounts his Maternal Genealogy, in the Female Line. Beſides, if a free-born Woman marry a Servant, her Children enjoy the full Privilege of Citizens; but ſhould a Man of ever ſo high Dignity marry a Foreigner or a Concubine, his Children would be uncapable of any Honour.

The Carians were ſubdu'd by *Harpagus*, without doing any memorable Action in their Defence: And all the Grecians that inhabit thoſe Parts, behav'd themſelves with as little Courage. Among theſe were the Cnidians, a Lacedemonian Colony, whoſe Territories deſcend to the *Triopian Sea*. This Region, except the Iſthmus of *Byblefia*, which is no more than five Stades in Breadth, is ſurrounded by the Sea, having on the North-Side the *Ceraunian Gulph*, and on the South-Weſt the *Rhodian* and *Symean Seas*. The Cnidians there, while the Arms of *Harpagus* were employ'd in the Conqueſt of *Ionia*, form'd a Deſign to cut thro' the Iſthmus, and to make their Country an Iſland. But, as they were carrying on that Work with great Diligence, the Shivers of the Stones broken by their Inſtruments, flew about ſo thick, and wounded ſo many Men in the Body, and particularly in the Eyes, that falling into great Conſternation, and imagining ſome Divine Power had interpos'd, they ſent to inquire

quire of the Delphian Oracle concerning this Obſtruction; and, as the Cnidians ſay, had the following Anſwer from the Pythian;

Build here no Tow'rs, nor thro' the Iſthmus cut:
Had the God pleas'd that this ſhould be an Iſle,
The Sea had waſh'd your Coaſt in ev'ry Part.

Upon the Reception of this Oracle, the Cnidians deſiſted from their Work, and when *Harpagus* appear'd with his Army, ſurrender'd without Reſiſtance. But the Pedaſeans inhabiting a midland Country ſituate above *Halicarnaſſus*, were the only People of *Caria* that oppos'd *Harpagus* with Vigour. For retiring to a Mountain call'd *Lyda*, they fortified and defended themſelves valiantly, and were not ſubdued without great Difficulty. When any ſiniſter Event is about to fall upon the Pedaſeans and their Neighbours, a long Beard ſhoots ſuddenly upon the Chin of *Minerva*'s Prieſteſs; and this Prodigy has thrice happen'd. After theſe Succeſſes, *Harpagus* drew his Army into the Plain, in order to attack the Lycians of *Xanthus*; who, tho' they were few in Number, yet having aſſembled what Forces they could, took the Field, and fought the Perſians with great Courage. But being overpower'd with Numbers, and forc'd to retire into the City, they put their Wives, Children, and Servants, with all their Riches, into the Caſtle, and ſet fire to the Place. Which when they had done, and all was burnt, they engag'd themſelves by the ſtrongeſt Oaths to dye together, and to that End returning into the Field of Battle, they renew'd the Fight, and were cut in Pieces to the laſt Man. All the Xanthian Ly-

cians of our Age are deſcended from Strangers, except eighty Families, which being abſent at the Time of this Invaſion, eſcap'd with Life. Thus *Xanthus* fell into the Hands of *Harpagus*; and *Caunia* almoſt in the ſame Manner; for the Caunians were accuſtom'd to follow the Example of the Lycians.

WHILE *Harpagus* ſubdued the Lower, *Cyrus* conquer'd the Upper *Aſia*, without ſparing any Nation he found in his Way. But I ſhall forbear to mention the greater Part of his Actions, and content myſelf to relate the moſt memorable; eſpecially ſuch as were attended with the greateſt Difficulty. When he had reduc'd all the Continent of *Aſia*, he reſolv'd to invade *Aſſyria*, which contains many famous Cities; but the principal in Strength and Name is *Babylon*, where the Seat of the Kingdom was fix'd after the Deſtruction of *Ninus*. *Babylon* ſtands in a ſpacious Plain, and being perfectly ſquare, ſhews a Front, on every Side, of one Hundred and twenty Stades, which make up the Sum of four Hundred and eighty Stades in the whole Circumference. This City, ſo great in Dimenſion, is more magnificently built than any other we know. In the firſt Place, a wide and deep Ditch, always ſupplied with Water, encompaſſes the Wall; which is two Hundred Royal Cubits in Height, and fifty in Breadth; every Royal Cubit containing three Digits more than the common Meaſure. And here I think myſelf oblig'd to give ſome Account, how the Babylonians employ'd the Earth that was taken out of ſo large a Ditch, and in what Manner the Wall was built. As they open'd the Ground, and threw out the Earth, they made

made Bricks; and when they had ſhap'd a convenient Number, they bak'd them in Furnaces prepar'd for that Purpoſe. The Cement they us'd was a bituminous Subſtance heated on the Fire; and every thirty Orders of Bricks were compacted together with an Intermixture of Reeds. With theſe Materials they firſt lin'd the Canal, and afterwards built the Wall in the ſame Manner. Certain Edifices conſiſting only of one Floor, were plac'd on the Edges of the Wall, fronting each other, and a Space was left between thoſe Buildings, ſufficient for turning a Chariot with four Horſes abreaſt. In the Circumference of the Wall one hundred Gates of Braſs are ſeen, with Intablatures and Supporters of the ſame Metal, all of like Architecture. Eight Days Journey from *Babylon* ſtands another City, call'd *Is*, on a River of the ſame Name, that falls into the *Euphrates*, and brings down great Quantities of Brimſtone in Lumps; which being carried to *Babylon* was us'd in this Work: And thus the City was encompaſs'd with a Wall. *Babylon* conſiſts of two Parts, ſeparated from each other by the River *Euphrates*; which deſcending from the Mountains of *Armenia*, becomes broad, deep, and rapid, and falls into the *Red-Sea*. The Walls were brought down on both Sides to the River, with ſome Inflexion at the Extremities; from whence a Rampart of Brickwork was extended along the Edge of the River on both Sides. The Houſes of *Babylon* are of three and four Floors in Height; and the principal Streets paſs in a direct Line quite through the City. The reſt traverſing theſe in ſeveral Places, lead to the River; and little Gates of Braſs, equal in Number to the

leſſer Streets, are plac'd in the Ramparts which border the Stream. Within the firſt Wall, which is fortified with Towers, another is built, not much inferior in Strength, tho' not altogether ſo thick: And beſides theſe, the Centre of each Diviſion is wall'd round; containing in one Part the Royal Palace, which is very ſpacious and ſtrong; and in the other the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*, being a ſquare Building, extended to the Length of two Stades on every Side, and having Gates of Braſs, as may ſtill be ſeen in our Time. In the midſt of this Temple ſtands a ſolid Tower, of one Stade in Height, and in Length and Breadth of the ſame Meaſure. On this Tower another is built, and a third upon that, till they make up the Number of eight. The Aſcent to theſe is by a circular Way carried round the Outſide of the Building to the higheſt Part. In the midſt of the Aſcent is a Place, where thoſe who go up may reſt themſelves; and within the uppermoſt Tower a ſpacious Dome is built, in which a Table of Gold ſtands at the Side of a magnificent Bed. No Image is ſeen in this Place, nor is any Mortal permitted to remain there by Night (as the Chaldæans, who are the Prieſts of this Temple, ſay) except only a Woman choſen by the God out of the whole Nation; affirming for a Truth, which nevertheleſs I think incredible, that the God comes by Night and lies in the Bed: Which reſembles the Account given by the Ægyptians of their Temple at *Thebes*. For there alſo a Woman lies in the Temple of *Jupiter*, and neither of theſe are ſuſpected to have the Company of Men; any more than the Prieſteſs of *Pataris* in *Lycia*; where,

tho' they have not a conſtant Oracle, yet when an Anſwer is to be deliver'd, ſhe is ſhut up during all the Night in the Temple.

In a Chapel which ſtands below, within the Temple of *Babylon*, a large Image of Gold, repreſenting *Jupiter* ſitting, is plac'd on a Throne of Gold, at a Table of the ſame Metal, all together weighing eight hundred Talents, as the Chaldæans affirm. Without this Chapel is an Altar of Gold; and another of a greater Size, which is uſed when Cattle of full Age are ſacrific'd; for on the Golden Altar no other than ſucking Victims may be offer'd. On the great Altar the Chaldæans conſume yearly the Weight of a thouſand Talents in Incenſe, when they celebrate the Feſtival of this God. Beſides theſe Things, a Statue of ſolid Gold, twelve Cubits high, ſtood formerly in this Temple; which becauſe I did not ſee, I ſhall only relate what I heard from the Chaldæans; who ſay, that *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, having form'd a Deſign to take away this Statue, had not Courage to effect his Purpoſe: But that *Xerxes* the Son of *Darius*, not only took the Statue, but kill'd the Prieſt who had forbidden him to remove it. In this Manner the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* is built and adorn'd; not to mention divers other Donations conſecrated there by private Perſons.

Many Kings, whoſe Names I ſhall mention in my Diſcourſes of the Aſſyrian Affairs, reign'd formerly in *Babylon*, and beautified the City with Temples and other publick Edifices: But none more than two Women. The firſt of theſe, nam'd *Semiramis*, liv'd five Generations before

the other, and rais'd ſuch Banks to prevent the Inundations of the River, which frequently overflow'd all the Plain of *Babylon*, as deſerv'd Admiration. But the other, whoſe Name was *Nitocris*, having afterwards obtain'd the Kingdom, and being much more provident, not only left Monuments of herſelf, which I ſhall deſcribe; but when ſhe ſaw the Power of the Medes grown formidable and ſtrong, and that they had taken the City of *Ninus*, with divers others, ſhe made all imaginable Proviſion for the Defence of her Territories. To that End, in the firſt Place ſhe caus'd a Channel to be open'd above *Babylon*, with ſo many various Windings, to receive the Stream of the *Euphrates*, which before ran in a ſtraight Line, that this River was made to touch no leſs than three ſeveral Times at one ſingle Town of *Aſſyria*, call'd *Arderica*; and all thoſe who now aſcend from the Sea by the Way of *Babylon*, are neceſſitated to paſs thrice by that Place in three ſeveral Days. Much higher than *Babylon*, at a little Diſtance from the *Euphrates*, ſhe caus'd a ſpacious Lake to be made, four Hundred and twenty Stades over on every Side; and in Depth till the Workmen came to Water. She border'd the Edge of this Lake quite round with Stone, and all the Earth they threw out was diſpos'd of, by her Direction, to augment the Banks of the River, which by that Means are of an aſtoniſhing Height and Thickneſs. Theſe two Things ſhe did, that the Current being broken by frequent Inflexions, the River might move on but ſlowly, and that the Capaciouſneſs of the Lake might render the Navigation to *Babylon* long and difficult. All this was done in that Part of

the Country which lies next to the Medes, and is their ſhorteſt Way to *Babylon*; to the End they might have no Opportunities of diſcovering her Affairs by an eaſy Communication with the Aſſyrians. Both theſe Works ſhe ſtrengthen'd with a ſolid Facing from the Bottom, and erected another between the two Diviſions of the City. For conſidering that *Babylon* was divided by the River into two Parts; and that all Perſons who paſs'd from one Side to the other during the Reigns of former Kings, had been neceſſitated to make uſe of Boats, which in my Opinion was very troubleſome; ſhe provided the following Remedy; and after having ſunk the Draining Lake, I mention'd before, left this alſo for a Monument of her Fame. She order'd Stones to be cut of large Dimenſions; and when they were ready, commanded a great Compaſs of Ground to be open'd, and the Current of the *Euphrates* to be turn'd into that Place. By this Means, when the Water was drain'd out, and the antient Channel become dry, ſhe lin'd the Banks of the River on both Sides with a Facing of burnt Brick, below the little Gates that lead to the Water within the City, and cemented as the Walls had been. Which having done, ſhe built a Bridge about the midſt of the City with the Stones ſhe had prepar'd; binding them together with Plates of Lead and Iron. Upon theſe Stones, Planks of ſquar'd Timber were laid by Day, that the Babylonians might paſs over from one Side to the other, but were remov'd at Night to prevent mutual Robberies. When the Lake was fill'd with the Water of the *Euphrates*, and the Bridge finiſh'd, ſhe brought back the River to its antient

tient Channel. This Invention of the Lake was much applauded; and thus a Bridge was built for the Uſe of the Inhabitants. The ſame Queen laid this Snare for ſucceeding Time: She prepar'd a Sepulchre for herſelf over the moſt frequented Gate of the City, expos'd to open View with the following Inſcription: IF ANY ONE OF MY SUCCESSORS, KINGS OF *BABYLON*, SHOULD FIND HIMSELF IN WANT OF MONEY, LET HIM OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE AS MUCH AS HE SHALL THINK FIT: BUT IF HE BE NOT REDUC'D TO REAL WANT, HE OUGHT TO FORBEAR; OTHERWISE HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT. This Monument continued untouch'd to the Reign of *Darius*; who judging it unreaſonable that the Gate ſhould remain uſeleſs to the Inhabitants (for no Man would paſs under a dead Body;) and an inviting Treaſure be render'd unſerviceable, broke up the Sepulchre, and inſtead of Money found only the Body and theſe Words; HADST THOU NOT BEEN INSATIABLY COVETOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU WOULD'ST NOT HAVE VIOLATED THE SEPULCHRE OF THE DEAD. And this is the Account they give of *Nitocris* Queen of *Babylon*.

CYRUS made War againſt *Labynitus* the Son of this Queen, who had his Name and the Kingdom of *Aſſyria* from his Father. When the *Great King* leads his Army in Perſon, he has with him Cattle and other Proviſions in abundance. The Water he drinks is brought from the River *Choaſpes*, which runs by *Suſa*; for

the Kings of *Perſia* drink of no other. This Water being firſt boil'd and preſerv'd in Veſſels of Silver, is loaded on many Waggons drawn by Mules, and carried after him whereſoever he goes. *Cyrus* arriving at the River *Gyndes* in his March towards *Babylon*, endeavour'd to paſs over with his Army; but that River was not fordable. The *Gyndes* riſes in the Hills of *Matiene*, and deſcending thro' *Dardania*, falls into the *Tigris*; which paſſing by the City of *Opis*, runs out into the *Red Sea*. In the mean Time one of thoſe who were mounted on white Horſes, accounted ſacred among the Perſians, with an audacious Petulancy puſh'd into the River; but the Current proving too ſtrong, drew him ſuddenly with his Horſe to the Bottom. *Cyrus*, much offended with the River for this Affront, threaten'd to render his Stream ſo contemptible, that Women ſhould paſs to either Side without wetting their Knees. After which Menace, deferring his Expedition againſt *Babylon*, he divided his Army into two Parts; and having mark'd out one Hundred and eighty Channels, by the Line, on each Side of the River, commanded his Men to dig out the Earth. His Deſign was indeed executed, by the great Numbers he employ'd; but the whole Summer was ſpent in the Work. Thus *Cyrus* puniſh'd the River *Gyndes*, by draining the Stream into three Hundred and ſixty Trenches; and in the Beginning of the next Spring advanc'd with his Army towards *Babylon*. Upon his Approach the *Babylonians*, who in Expectation of his coming had drawn out their Forces, gave him Battle, and being defeated fled back to the City. But having been long acquainted with the reſtleſs

reſtleſs Spirit of *Cyrus*, and his Cuſtom of attacking all Nations without Diſtinction, they had laid up Proviſions for many Years, and were under no Apprehenſions about a Siege. On the other Hand, *Cyrus* himſelf finding much Time conſum'd, and his Affairs not at all advanc'd, fell into great Doubt what he ſhould do next; when at laſt, either by the Suggeſtion of ſome other Perſon, or of his own ſagacious Invention, he reſolv'd upon the following Stratagem. He poſted one Part of his Army near the Place where the River enters *Babylon*, and the reſt in another Station below, where the ſame River leaves the City; with order to enter, ſo ſoon as they ſhould ſee the Channel paſſable. Having given this Direction, and encourag'd his Forces, he went with the uſeleſs Part of his Men to the Lake, and did as the Queen of *Babylon* had done. For by opening a large Trench, he turn'd the Stream into the Lake, and by that Means the River ſubſiding, the antient Channel became fordable: Which the Perſians, who were appointed to that Purpoſe, obſerving, put their Orders in execution, and boldly enter'd the City, having the Water no higher than the Middle of the Thigh. Yet if the Babylonians had been well inform'd, or had foreſeen the Attempt of *Cyrus*, they would doubtleſs have deſtroy'd his Army, and not have ſupinely ſuffer'd the Perſians to paſs. For by ſhutting all the little Gates that lead down to the River, and mounting the Brickworks that run along the Key, they might have taken them in a Kind of Cage; whereas having no Suſpicion of ſuch a Deſign, they were unexpectedly ſurpriz'd by the Perſians. The Extent of the City was

ſuch, that, if we may believe the Babylonians, when thoſe who inhabited near the Centre were taken, the People that dwelt about the Extremities of *Babylon* heard nothing of their Diſaſter; but were celebrating a Feſtival that Day with Dancing and all manner of Rejoicing, till they receiv'd certain Information of the general Fate. And thus *Babylon* was the firſt Time taken.

Among many Things which I ſhall mention, to ſhew the Power and Wealth of the Babylonians, this is one. That, whereas all the Dominions of the *Great King* are charg'd with providing Subſiſtence for his Perſon and Armies, over and above the uſual Tribute; the Territory of *Babylon* contributes as much as is ſufficient for four of the twelve Months that make up the Year, all the reſt of *Aſia* furniſhing no more than for eight Months only: So that the Country of *Aſſyria* alone is accounted equivalent to one half of all the other Parts of *Aſia*. The Government of this Region, which the Perſians call a Satrapy, is much more conſiderable than any other, and yielded an Artabe of Silver every Day to *Tritæchmes* the Son of *Artabazus*, who was appointed Governor by the King. The Artabe is a Perſian Meaſure containing three Chœnixes more than the Attick Medimnus. Beſides this Revenue, and his Horſes for War, a Studd of eight Hundred Stallions, and ſixteen Thouſand Mares, one Horſe to twenty Mares, was kept for him at the Expence of the Country: And his Indian Dogs were ſo many, that four conſiderable Towns in the Plain were exempted from all other Taxes, on Condition to provide Food for thoſe Animals.

Such

Such Advantages belong'd to the Governor of *Babylon*. Little Rain falls in *Aſſyria*; but the Root of the Corn is nouriſh'd in another Manner; and though the Earth is not water'd by the overflowing of the River, as in *Ægypt*; yet the Hands of Men and Watering-Engines, invented for that Purpoſe, ſupply the Lands with a ſufficient Quantity of Moiſture. For all the Country about *Babylon* is, like *Ægypt*, divided by frequent Canals; of which the largeſt is navigable, and beginning at the *Euphrates*, deſcends towards the Winter-Solſtice, and falls into the River *Tigris*, where the City of *Ninus* formerly ſtood. No Part of the known World produces ſo good Wheat; but the Vine, the Olive and the Fig-Tree, were never ſeen in this Country. Yet, in Recompence, it abounds ſo much in Corn, as to yield at all Times an Increaſe of two Hundred for one; and even three Hundred, when the Year is extraordinary fruitful, and the Climate ſeems to out-do itſelf. Wheat and Barley carry a Blade four full Digits in Breadth: And though I well know to what a ſurprizing Height Milet and Seſama grow in thoſe Parts, I ſhall be ſilent in that Particular; becauſe the Truth would ſeem incredible to all thoſe who have never been at *Babylon*. They uſe no other Oil than ſuch as is drawn from Seſama. The Palm-Tree grows naturally over all the Plain; and the greater Part bears Fruit; with which they make Bread, Wine, and Honey. This Tree is cultivated as the Fig-Tree; and they tie the Fruit of that which the Grecians call the Male-Palm, about thoſe Trees that bear Dates, to the End that a Gnat may enter and ripen the Fruit; leſt otherwiſe the Gland

Gland fall before Maturity; for the Fruit of the Male-Palm, like that of the wild Fig-Tree, produces a Gnat. But the Thing which, next to the City, ſeems moſt wonderful to me, is this: The Veſſels that deſcend the River to *Babylon*, are round, and in great Meaſure compos'd of Skins. For when they have cut the Ribbs out of Willows growing in the Hills of *Armenia* above *Babylon*, they cover them with Hides extended on the Outſide, to ſerve for a Bottom; making no Diſtinction of Stem or Stern. Theſe Veſſels thus ſhap'd in the Form of a Buckler, they ſtow with Reeds, and venture upon the River, freighted with Merchandize, and eſpecially with Caſks of Palm-Wine. Two Men ſtanding upright with a Pole in the Hand of each, one pulling to, and the other putting off from himſelf, direct the Courſe of theſe Boats; ſome of which are very large, and others of a leſs Size; but the moſt capacious carry the Weight of five thouſand Talents. Every Veſſel has an Aſs on Board, and the greateſt more. For after they arrive at *Babylon*, and have diſpos'd of their Goods, they ſell the Ribbs of the Boat with the Reeds; and loading the Hides on the Aſſes, return by Land to *Armenia*; the River not being navigable upwards, by reaſon of the Rapidity of the Stream. For this Cauſe they uſe Skins, rather than Timber, in fitting up theſe Veſſels; and at their Return to *Armenia*, they build more after the ſame Manner. Such is the Account of that Navigation. For their Dreſs, they wear a Linen Shirt down to the Feet, upon which they have a Veſt of Woollen Cloth, and a white Mantle over all. Their Shoes are made

in

in a Faſhion peculiar to the Country, not unlike thoſe of the Bœotians. They wear long Hair, covering the Head with a Mitre, and anoint the whole Body with perfum'd Oils. Every Man has a Ring with a Signet, and a Staff curiouſly wrought; on the Top of which is plac'd either an Apple, a Roſe, a Lily, or an Eagle, or ſome other Thing; for to wear a Stick without ſuch an Ornament, is accounted indecent. Among their Cuſtoms, they had one moſt prudently eſtabliſh'd; and another, which I approve, and which, I hear, the Henetes of *Illyria* likewiſe uſe. In every Diſtrict they annually aſſembled all the Virgins of marriageable Age on a certain Day; and when the Men were come together, and ſtood round the Place, the Crier riſing up, ſold one after another, always propoſing the moſt beautiful firſt; and having ſold her for a great Sum of Gold, he puts up the Maid who was eſteem'd ſecond in Beauty. On this Occaſion the richeſt of the Babylonians us'd to contend for the faireſt Wife, and to outbid one another. But the Vulgar thinking they had no great need of handſome Women, were contented to take the ugly and lame with Money. For when all the beautiful Virgins were ſold, the Crier order'd the moſt deform'd to ſtand up; and after he had openly demanded, who would marry her with a ſmall Sum, ſhe was at length adjudg'd to the Man that would be ſatisfied with the leaſt. And in this Manner the Money ariſing by the Sale of the handſome, ſerv'd for a Portion to thoſe, who were either of diſagreeable Looks, or under any other Imperfection of Body. A Father was not permitted to indulge his own Fancy in the Choice

of

of a Huſband for his Daughter; neither might the Purchaſer carry off the Woman he had bought, without giving ſufficient Security to cohabit with her as his Wife: If he refus'd, he was oblig'd to reſtore the Money he had receiv'd. Yet Men of another Diſtrict might come and buy if they thought fit. All theſe Precautions were taken, that Women might not be ill-us'd, nor forc'd away into other Provinces. But this excellent Law, which in former Time was ſtrictly obſerv'd, is now totally aboliſh'd. For after the Taking of *Babylon*, they ſuffer'd great Calamities, and were reduc'd to ſuch Extremities in their private Fortunes, that all the meaner Sort proſtitute their Daughters for a Living. Another Cuſtom they have, which deſerves the ſecond Praiſe. All ſick Perſons are brought out into the moſt frequented Places, (for they uſe no Phyſicians;) and as thoſe who come thither, always enquire concerning the Diſeaſe of the Patient, when they find that they have been afflicted with the ſame, or have ſeen others in a like Condition, they adviſe him to do as they did to cure themſelves, or as others, they knew, had done in the ſame Caſe. For, to paſs ſilently before the Sick, without enquiring into the Nature of their Diſtemper, is among them accounted a Crime. They embalm the dead in Honey, and their funeral Lamentations are like thoſe of the Ægyptians. When a Babylonian deſigns to accompany with his Wife, he firſt burns Incenſe, ſitting on one Side of the Fire, while ſhe does the ſame on the other; and about Break of Day they go both into a Bath, as the Arabians likewiſe do, refuſing to touch any Thing till they have waſh'd.

Never-

Nevertheleſs they have one eſtabliſh'd Cuſtom, which is infamous in the higheſt Degree. For every Woman is oblig'd, once in her Life, to ſit down openly in the Temple of *Venus*, in order to proſtitute herſelf to ſome Stranger. Yet becauſe the moſt Wealthy diſdain to expoſe themſelves in Publick among the reſt, many come in cover'd Chariots to the Gates of the Temple, and make that their Station, with a numerous Train of Servants attending at a Diſtance. But the far greater Part enter into the Temple, and ſit down crown'd with Garlands, ſome continually going out, and others coming in. The Galleries where they ſit are built in a ſtraight Line, and open on every Side, that all Strangers may have a free Paſſage to chuſe ſuch Women as they like beſt. When a Woman has ſeated herſelf, ſhe muſt not return home, till ſome Stranger throw a Piece of Silver into her Lap, and lie with her at ſome Diſtance from the Temple; uſing this Form as he gives her the Money. *I beſeech the Goddeſs* Mylitta *to favour Thee:* For the Aſſyrians call *Venus* by that Name. The Law forbids any Woman to refuſe this Preſent, how ſmall ſoever, becauſe ſuch Money is accounted ſacred: And commands her to follow the firſt that offers it, without rejecting any Man. Having ſatisfied this Obligation, and perform'd her Duty to the Goddeſs, ſhe returns home; and after that Time is never more to be obtain'd by any Preſents, how great ſoever. Thoſe Women who excel in Beauty and Shape, are ſoon diſmiſs'd; but the Deform'd are ſometimes neceſſitated to wait three or four Years, before they can ſatisfy the Law. The Cyprians have a Cuſtom not unlike to this in ſome Parts

of the Iſland of *Cyprus*. The Babylonians have three Tribes among them, who eat nothing but Fiſh; which they order in this Manner: When they have taken and dry'd the Fiſh in the Sun, they throw them into a Mortar; and after having reduc'd the whole Subſtance to a Kind of Meal, they cleanſe it through a linen Search; making it up into Cakes, as they have Occaſion, and baking it as Bread. And theſe are the Cuſtoms of the Babylonians.

CYRUS having ſubdued this Nation, grew very deſirous to conquer the Maſſagetes, who are accounted a great and valiant People. They inhabit towards the Eaſt, and the Riſing-Sun beyond the River *Araxes*, over-againſt the Iſſedonians; and ſome ſay they are Scythians. Many think the *Araxes* to be greater than the *Iſter*, and others, leſs; containing, as they ſay, divers Iſlands, equal to *Leſbos* in Circumference, and inhabited by Men, who during the Summer feed upon all manner of Roots, which they dig out of the Ground, and for their Winter-Proviſion lay up the ripe Fruits they find upon the Trees. They add, that a certain Tree growing in this Country, produces Fruit of ſuch a Nature, that when the Inhabitants meet together in Company, and throw a Quantity of it upon the Fire, they become intoxicated as they ſit round the Steam, no leſs than the Grecians by drinking Wine: That the more they fling on, the more drunk they grow, and that when they find themſelves in this Condition, they riſe up to dance and ſing. In this Manner theſe Iſlanders are reported to live. The *Araxes* deſcends from the Hills of *Matiene*, (as I obſerv'd before of the River *Gyndes*, which *Cyrus* turn'd into three Hun-

Hundred and ſixty Trenches,) and, except one Stream which runs into the *Caſpian Sea*, diſcharges all its Waters by forty ſeveral Paſſages into certain Fens and Lakes; where 'tis ſaid the Inhabitants feed only upon raw Fiſh, and cloath themſelves in the Skins of Sea-Calves. The *Caſpian* has no Communication with any other Sea; whereas that which the Grecians navigate, together with the *Red Sea*, and the *Atlantick*, lying beyond the Columns of *Hercules*, are but one Sea. The Length of the *Caſpian* is as much as a Veſſel with Oars can make in fifteen Days; and to croſs the Breadth in the wideſt Part, requires eight. This Sea is bounded on the Weſt by Mount *Caucaſus*, the greateſt and higheſt of all Mountains; containing many different Nations, who for the moſt Part live upon ſuch Things as the Earth produces without Cultivation. In this Country, 'tis ſaid, they have a certain Tree, the Leaf of which, when bruiſed and diluted with Water, ſerves to paint the Figures of various Animals on their Garments, with a Colour that never fades; that theſe Figures are not waſh'd out by Water; but continue to wear as if they had been woven in the Cloth; and that theſe People never conceal themſelves when they uſe the Company of Women, any more than do Cattle. Mount *Caucaſus*, as I ſaid before, is extended on the Weſt of the *Caſpian Sea*; and on the Eaſt, towards the Riſing of the Sun, lies a Plain of immenſe Extent. The greater Part of this Country is inhabited by the Maſſagetes, againſt whom *Cyrus* was ſo vehemently inclin'd to make War. The Motives that puſh'd him on to this Enterprize, were many and powerful; principally, becauſe

becauſe his Birth had inſpir'd him with an Opinion that he was ſomething above a Man; and good Fortune had ſo conſtantly attended him, in all his military Expeditions, that he had conquer'd as many Nations as he had attack'd. The Maſſagetes were at this Time under the Government of *Tomyris*, who had been Wife to their laſt King: And this gave *Cyrus* a Pretext to ſend Ambaſſadors to her, with Propoſals of Marriage in his Name. But *Tomyris* believing he only courted the Kingdom, and not her Perſon, ſent to forbid them to proceed in their Journey. Upon this *Cyrus* perceiving his Artifice ineffectual, pull'd off the Maſk; and openly advancing with his Army againſt the Maſſagetes, arriv'd at the River *Araxes*; over which he laid Bridges of Boats for the Paſſage of his Forces, and fortified thoſe Bridges with Towers. Whilſt he was employ'd in this Work, *Tomyris* ſent him a Meſſage by a Herald, in theſe Terms; "King "of the Medes, deſiſt from the Enterprize "thou haſt begun with ſo great Diligence; for "thou art not ſure the End will prove fortu-"nate. Be contented to govern thy own Do-"minions, and ſuffer us to rule the Country "we poſſeſs. But if thou wilt not hearken to "my Counſel, and art reſolv'd to prefer every "Thing before Peace; in a Word, if thou haſt "ſo great a Deſire to make Trial of thy Forces "againſt the Maſſagetes, toil no longer in vain "to build Bridges over the *Araxes*; but paſs "boldly to this Side, whilſt I retire with my "Army full three Days March from the River: "Or, if this Condition pleaſe thee not, receive "us into thy Territories on the ſame Terms."

When

When *Cyrus* heard this Meſſage, he call'd a Council of all the principal Perſians; and after he had laid the Propoſal before them, and demanded their Opinion, they unanimouſly advis'd him to let *Tomyris* paſs with her Army into his Dominions. But *Cræſus* the Lydian, who was preſent in the Aſſembly, diſapproving their Counſel, ſpoke thus to *Cyrus*; "SIR, in Pur- "ſuance of the Promiſe I made you, when *Ju-* "*piter* deliver'd me into your Hands, I will al- "ways, to the utmoſt of my Power, endea- "vour to prevent the Misfortunes I ſee impend- "ing over your Head; and my own Calami- "ties, however ſevere, have contributed ſome- "thing to my Inſtruction. If you think your- "ſelf immortal, and your Army to have the "like Prerogative, 'tis needleſs for me to tell "you my Opinion. But if you know you are "no more than a Man; and that the Forces "you command are Men likewiſe, conſider, in "the firſt Place, that the continual Rotation "of human Affairs never ſuffers the ſame Per- "ſon to be always proſperous. For this, and "other Reaſons, I am oblig'd to diſſent from "the Advice of all this Aſſembly, touching the "Queſtion now before us. For if we deter- "mine to receive the Enemy into this Coun- "try, and happen to be defeated, you will be "in Danger of loſing all your Dominions; be- "cauſe no Man can imagine, that after ſuch a "Victory the Maſſagetes would preſently retire "with their Forces; but rather immediately "fall upon your Territories: And if you ſhould "conquer, the Advantage of your Victory "could be no Way comparable to thoſe you will "obtain by beating them in their own Country,

" and vigorously purſuing their broken Troops. " For I am perſuaded, that ſuch Succeſs im- " prov'd with Diligence, would enable you to " ſubdue the whole Kingdom of *Tomyris* with- " out more Reſiſtance. Beſides, the Diſgrace " is too great and intolerable, for *Cyrus* the " Son of *Cambyſes* to retreat before a Woman. " My Opinion therefore is, that you would re- " ſolve to paſs the River; and when you are ad- " vanc'd near the Enemy, then to uſe the fol- " lowing Stratagem, in order to ſurprize their " Forces. I have heard the Maſſagetes live " hardly, and are unacquainted with the delici- " ous Tables of the Perſians. And therefore I " adviſe that great Numbers of Cattle, kill'd " and dreſs'd, with Plenty of unmix'd Wine, " and all other Proviſions in abundance, ſhould " be prepar'd in our Camp for theſe Men; and " that leaving the weakeſt of our Forces behind, " all the reſt ſhould return towards the River: " For the Maſſagetes, if I miſtake not, when " they ſee ſo much exquiſite Fare, will not fail " to fall on immediately, and by that means af- " ford us an Occaſion of ſtriking a Blow of " Importance." Of theſe two Opinions, *Cyrus* rejected the firſt; and approving that of *Cræſus*, ſent a Meſſage to *Tomyris*, requiring her to re- tire, whilſt he ſhould paſs the *Araxes* with his Army. The Queen mindful of her Promiſe, did as he deſir'd: And after *Cyrus* had committed the Care of the Kingdom, and of *Cræſus*, to his Son *Cambyſes*; commanding him, if the Expe- dition againſt the Maſſagates ſhould prove unfor- tunate, to honour *Cræſus*, and treat him with Favour, he diſmiſs'd both, with Orders to return to *Perſia*, and paſs the River with all his Forces.

CYRUS

CYRUS having paſs'd the *Araxes*, enter'd the Country of the Maſſagetes; and in the Night dream'd he ſaw the eldeſt Son of *Hyſtaſpes* with Wings on his Shoulders; which he ſpread, and ſhaded *Aſia* with one, and *Europe* with the other. *Hyſtaſpes* the Son of *Arſames* was of the Achæmenian Blood, and the Name of his eldeſt Son was *Darius*; who having then ſcarce attain'd to the Age of twenty Years, had been left in *Perſia*, as too young to ſuſtain the Hardſhips of War. *Cyrus* awaking, conſider'd his Dream with Attention; and judging it to be of the laſt Conſequence, ſent for *Hyſtaſpes*, and taking him aſide, ſaid; "*Hyſtaſpes*, thy "Son has form'd a Deſign againſt me and my "Government, and I will tell thee how I know "this with Certainty. The Gods, ſollicitous "for my Preſervation, ever give me timely No- "tice of all impending Dangers: And therefore "laſt Night as I ſlept, I ſaw in a Dream the "eldeſt of thy Sons, having Wings on his "Shoulders; with one of which he cover'd "*Europe*, and *Aſia* with the other. For this "Cauſe I order thee to return immediately to "*Perſia*, and to take Care, that when I come "home with Victory, thy Son may be ready "to anſwer for himſelf." Theſe Words *Cyrus* ſaid, in a full Perſuaſion that *Darius* had form'd a Deſign againſt him: But the *Dæmon* by this previous Admonition ſignified, that he ſhould die in the Enterprize he had undertaken, and that his Kingdom ſhould be transferr'd to *Darius*. *Hyſtaſpes* anſwer'd, "God forbid, O "King, that one who is born a Perſian, ſhould "conſpire againſt thee! But if any ſuch be "found, may ſudden Deſtruction overtake him.

" For thou haſt not only enfranchis'd the Per-
" ſians, who before were Servants; but ad-
" vanc'd them from the Condition of Slaves,
" to the Power of commanding other Nations:
" And therefore whatever Viſion has repreſented
" my Son contriving any Thing againſt thee, I
" freely ſurrender him to be treated in the Man-
" ner thou ſhalt command." Having made this Anſwer, *Hyſtaſpes* repaſs'd the River *Araxes*, and when he arriv'd in *Perſia*, plac'd a Guard upon his Son *Darius*.

In the mean Time *Cyrus* advanc'd one Day's March beyond the River; and after ſome ſtay, purſuant to the Counſel of *Cræſus*, retir'd again, with all his beſt Troops; leaving only the worſt of his Men behind him. Theſe the Maſſagetes attack'd with a third Part of their Army, and after ſome Reſiſtance, cut in Pieces. Which having done, and ſeeing a plentiful Feaſt prepar'd, they eat and drank to ſuch Exceſs, that they fell aſleep upon the Spot. In this Condition they were ſurpriz'd by the Perſians, who kill'd many, and took a greater Number Priſoners; among them *Spargapiſes*, Son to *Tomyris*, and General of the Maſſagetes. The Queen hearing the Misfortune of her Son, and one Part of her Army, ſent a Herald to *Cyrus* with a Meſſage in theſe Words; " O *Cyrus*, thou
" inſatiable Hunter of Blood, be not vain and
" inſolent; if, by the Fruit of the Vine, which
" none of you can bear without raving, and
" which never enters into your Bodies without
" bringing up all Manner of unbecoming Lan-
" guage; if, I ſay, by this treacherous Poiſon,
" thou haſt circumvented my Son, inſtead of
" conquering him by Valour in the Field.

" How-

" However, for the preſent take the beſt Coun-
" ſel I can give. Reſtore my Son: Depart out
" of this Country, and reſt ſatisfied with having
" ſurpriz'd a third Part of my Army by Fraud.
" But if thou wilt not do theſe Things, I ſwear
" by the Sun, who is the Lord of the Maſ-
" ſagetes, to give thee Blood enough; inſatia-
" ble as thou art." After this Meſſage, which had no Effect upon *Cyrus*, *Spargapiſes* the Son of *Tomyris*, being recover'd from his Wine, and perceiving the Diſaſter that was fall'n upon him, begg'd of *Cyrus* to be unbound; and having obtain'd his Requeſt, no ſooner found his Hands at Liberty, than he immediately kill'd himſelf. But *Tomyris* finding her Advice ſlighted by *Cyrus*, aſſembled all her Forces, and engag'd the Perſians in a Battle; which I think to have been the moſt obſtinate that ever was fought by Barbarians. At firſt, as I am inform'd, whilſt the two Armies were at a Diſtance, they ſent Showers of Arrows upon each other; and after they had quite emptied their Quivers, and thrown all their Javelins; they join'd in cloſe Fight with their Swords and Spears. In this Manner they continued for a long Time, fighting with equal Fury; but at length the Maſſagetes had the Victory, moſt of the Perſian Army being cut in Pieces, and *Cyrus* himſelf kill'd in the Place, after he had reign'd Twenty nine Years. *Tomyris* found the Body of *Cyrus*, among the ſlain; and having cut off the Head, threw it into a Veſſel fill'd with human Blood, which ſhe had purpoſely prepared; ſaying, in an inſulting Manner; " Thou didſt, indeed, treacherouſly
" ſurprize and deſtroy my Son; but I, who
" ſurvive, and am thy Conqueror, will now

" make good my Word, and give thee Blood " enough." Such was the End of *Cyrus*; and though many other things are ſaid of him, I have reſtrain'd my Relation to theſe, which to me ſeem beſt atteſted.

THE Maſſagetes reſemble the Scythians in their Habit and Way of Living: They have both Horſe and Foot in their Armies: Their Weapons of War are Arrows, Javelins, and Scymeters: About their Arms they uſe Braſs or Gold; for the Blade of their Scymeter is Braſs, and their Javelins and Arrows are pointed with the ſame Metal; but their Helmets, Belts, and Body Armour are adorn'd with Gold. They arm their Horſes with a Breaſtplate of Braſs, and the Bridle, with all the reſt of the Furniture, is enrich'd with Gold. They uſe no Silver nor Iron, for neither of thoſe Metals are found in their Country. As for their Manners, every one marries a Wife; but they lie with thoſe Women in common; and the Grecians miſtake, when they attribute this Cuſtom to the Scythians, which is peculiar to the Maſſagetes; among whom, whenever a Man deſires to have the Company of a Woman, he hangs up his Quiver at the Head of his Chariot, and uſes her without Shame. The Years of Life are not limited by any Law: but after a Man has attain'd to old Age, all his Relations meet, and ſacrifice him, with Cattle of ſeveral Kinds; and when they have boil'd all the Fleſh together, they ſit down as to a Feaſt. This Death they account the moſt happy; for they never eat the Bodies of thoſe who die by Sickneſs; but bury them in the Earth, and think it a great Misfortune, that they did not attain to be ſacrific'd.

Their

Their Drink is Milk; and they ſow nothing; contenting themſelves with the Fleſh of Animals, and Fiſh, which the River *Araxes* yields in abundance. They adore the Sun only of all the Gods, and ſacrifice Horſes to his Deity; judging it moſt proper to offer the ſwifteſt of all Animals to the ſwifteſt of all the Gods.

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fronting page 137. B. 2.

60 65

O C E A N

Bolbitina | Bubastis & Bucolic Mouth | Phanuetica & Physcus | Sebennitic Mouth | Mendes Mouth | Saitick Mouth | Pelusium

Gulf of Plinthina

Canopus | Anchila | Archadra | Vaccarat | Buticis | Saïs | Sebennytis | Mendes | Saïs | Lycopolis | Aphroditis | Mycephoris | Bubastis | Lake Sirbonis | Mount Casius | SYRIA

Lake Maeotis | Pelusian Daphne

DELTA

Natho | Atharbechis | Prosopitis | Cala[illegible]ires | Pharbethis

ASIA

30 | Apis | Nil. R | Heliopolis | 30

LYBIA

Cercasora | Cairo | Memphis | Pyramids

ARABIA

Canhora the Crocodile City | Mæris Lake | Marea | Hermopolitis

Egyptian Cordes 7500 Geometrical paces each

UPPER AEGYPT

The Nil Bounds of Africa & Arabia

Chemnis

ARABIA where the Arabian Egyptians dwelt

ARABIAN GULF

AFRI[illegible]

Oasis Minor

[illegible]CA

Thebes

25 | Land of Thebes | 25

Oasis Major

Elephantis | Syene | Tropick of Cancer

Mophi Mts | Nysa

Catadupi | Tacompso

The Cataract

ETHIOPIA

60 65

ÆGYPT

As Described in the second Book of Herodotus.

5 10 15 20 25 30

English Miles.

THE
History of *Herodotus.*

Book II.

EUTERPE.

AFTER the Death of *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. He was the Son of *Cyrus*, and of *Caſſandana* the Daughter of *Pharnaſpes*; who dying ſome Time before, was publickly lamented by *Cyrus*, and in Obedience to his Command, by all the People of his Dominions. Born of theſe Parents, *Cambyſes* treated the Ionians and Æolians as his Patrimonial Servants; and having determin'd to invade *Ægypt*, conſtrain'd the Grecians that were ſubject to him, to join his other Forces, and to attend him in his Expedition.

THE Ægyptians who liv'd before the Reign of *Pſammetichus*, thought themſelves the moſt antient People of all the World. But ſince the Experiment he made, to find out the Truth of that Matter, they have yielded the Priority to the Phrygians, ſtill eſteeming themſelves the ſecond in Antiquity. For after *Pſammetichus* had long endeavour'd in vain to diſcover who were the firſt Men, he at laſt contriv'd this Expedient.

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He took two Male Children newly born of poor Parents, and putting them into the Hands of a Shepherd to be brought up among his Flocks, commanded him not to permit any one to ſpeak in their hearing; but to lay them in a ſolitary Cottage; to bring them Goats to ſuck at certain times, and when he ſhould perceive they were ſatiated with Milk, to nouriſh them with other Food. Theſe Orders *Pſammetichus* gave, that he might be inform'd, what Word would firſt break from the Children, when they ſhould begin to articulate; and the Succeſs was anſwerable to his Expectation. For at the end of two Years, as the Shepherd to whoſe Care they were committed, was one Day entring the Cottage, and had already open'd the Door, both the Children ran to him, and holding out their Hands, cried *Bekkos*. The Shepherd at firſt ſaid nothing; but after he had often obſerv'd that this Word was ever repeated at his coming in, he acquainted the King with what had happen'd, and by his Command brought the Children into his Preſence. *Pſammetichus* having heard the ſame, inquir'd in the next place, if any Nation made uſe of the Word *Bekkos*; and when he found by Inquiry, that the Phrygians call Bread by that Name, the Ægyptians conſented to take this for a Proof, that the Phrygians were the more antient People. This Relation I had at *Memphis* from the Prieſts of *Vulcan*. But the Grecians, among many other ridiculous things, report, that *Pſammetichus* deliver'd theſe Children to be brought up by certain Women, whoſe Tongues he caus'd to be cut out. Divers other things I heard at *Memphis*,

phis in ſeveral Conferences I had with the Prieſts of *Vulcan*. I went alſo to *Thebes*, and to *Heliopolis*, in order to ſee whether their Accounts might agree with what I had heard at *Memphis*; for the Heliopolitans are eſteem'd the wiſeſt of all the Ægyptians. Their Diſcourſes touching the Gods, I am not very willing to publiſh, except only their Names; ſuppoſing that all Men think alike concerning them: And therefore I ſhall ſay no more of thoſe matters than the Thread of my Narration abſolutely requires. But as for human Sciences, they all agree, that the Ægyptians were the firſt Inventers of the Year, which they divided into twelve Parts, by means of the Knowledge they had of the Stars: In this, as I think, more able than the Grecians, who to make up the Time, throw in an intercalatory Month every third Year: Whereas the Ægyptians allowing thirty Days to each of the twelve Months, and adding five Days to each Year, render the Revolution of Time equal and regular. They ſaid alſo, that the Ægyptians were the firſt who gave Names to the twelve Gods; and that the Grecians had thoſe Names from them; that they erected the firſt Altars, Images, and Temples to the Gods, and carv'd the Figures of Animals on Stone; moſt of which they demonſtrated to be ſo in fact. They added, that *Menes* was the firſt King, who reign'd in the World; and that in his Time all *Ægypt*, except the Country of *Thebes*, was one Moraſs; no part of the preſent Land appearing then below the Lake *Myris*, which is ſeven Days Paſſage from the Sea by the way of the River. Indeed, to me they ſeem'd

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to ſpeak rationally touching this Region. For any Man of Underſtanding will eaſily perceive at ſight, tho' he had never heard theſe things, that thoſe Parts of *Ægypt* which the Grecians frequent with their Shipping, are an Acceſſion of Land beſtow'd upon the Ægyptians by the River: And ſo is all that Country, which Men ſee beyond the Lake during a Paſſage of three Days; of which yet theſe Ægyptians ſaid nothing. Beſides, when a Ship bound to *Ægypt* rides at a Diſtance of a whole Day's Sail from the Port, if a Man try the Sounding, he ſhall draw up his Plummet cover'd with Mud, even where the Sea is eleven Fathom deep; which plainly ſhews, that all that Earth was brought down thither by the River. The Ægyptian Coaſt extending, as we reckon, from the Bay of *Plinthene* to the Lake *Selbonis* under Mount *Caſius*, is ſixty Schœnes in Length. And here we muſt obſerve, that thoſe Nations who have only ſmall Territories, meaſure their Land by the Rod; ſuch as have more, by the Stade; and thoſe who have very much, by the Paraſanges, each conſiſting of thirty Stades. But in Countries of vaſt Extent, they account by the Schœne, which is an Ægyptian Meaſure equal to ſixty Stades. So that the whole Coaſt of *Ægypt* is three thouſand and ſix hundred Stades in Length. From the Sea upwards to the City of *Heliopolis*, the Country is a ſpacious Level, without Rivers, yet moiſt and glutinous. The Diſtance from the Sea to *Heliopolis*, is about the ſame, as from the Altar of the twelve Gods in *Attica* to *Piſa* and the Temple of Olympian *Jupiter*. For whoever will compare

pare theſe Ways, ſhall find by Computation that they differ not one from the other above fifteen Stades; the Road leading to *Piſa* wanting no more of one thouſand five hundred Stades, which is juſt the Number that lie between the Sea and *Heliopolis*. From this City upwards, *Ægypt* is narrow, and ſhut up on one ſide by the Mountains of *Arabia*, which form a continued Line, extending from the North to the South and South-Weſt, till they reach the *Red Sea*. In theſe Hills are found Quarries of Stone, which were us'd in building the Pyramids of *Memphis*. But I have heard, that to travel this Country over in the wideſt Part from Eaſt to Weſt, is a Journey of two Months; and that the moſt Eaſtwardly Limits produce Frankincenſe in abundance. On that ſide of *Ægypt* which borders upon *Libya*, are other Mountains, very rocky and cover'd with Sand. They contain divers Pyramids, and ſtand over-againſt thoſe of *Arabia* which ſtretch to the Southward. So that the Country is narrow beyond *Heliopolis*, as far as one can paſs in four Days Voyage up the River; which is not much, if we conſider the Extent of *Ægypt*. Between the Mountains before-mention'd the Land is level, and, in the narroweſt Part, ſeems to me not above two hundred Stades, in Breadth, from the Arabian to the Lybian Hills: But beyond theſe Streights the Country grows wider again. Such is the Form and Situation of this Region. From *Heliopolis* to *Thebes* Men paſs by Water in nine Days, the Diſtance between thoſe two Cities being four thouſand eight hundred and ſixty Stades, which amount to eighty one Schœnes. In Concluſion; the Coaſt

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of *Egypt*, as I ſaid before, contains in Length three thouſand and ſix hundred Stades: *Thebes* is diſtant from the Sea ſix thouſand one hundred and twenty; and the City of *Elephantis* eight hundred and twenty from *Thebes*. The greater Part of all this Country, as the Prieſts inform'd me, and as I judge by what I ſaw, is an Acceſſion of Land to the Ægyptians. For the Plains that lye between the Mountains beyond *Memphis*, ſeem to me to have been formerly a Bay of the Sea: And I have the ſame Opinion of thoſe about *Ilium*, *Teuthrania*, *Epheſus*, and the *Mæander*; if I may be permitted to compare ſmall things with great: For none of all the Rivers that have thrown out Earth in this manner on thoſe Regions, can juſtly be brought in Competition with any one of the ſeven Channels of the *Nile*. I might mention other Rivers which have wrought the like Effect, and, tho' not ſo conſiderable as the *Nile* have yet done great things of this Nature. Of theſe, one of the moſt remarkable is the *Achelois*; which paſſing thro' *Acarnania*, and falling into the Sea by the *Echinades*, has already join'd one half of thoſe Iſlands to the Continent. Beſides, there is a Bay, not far from *Ægypt*, branching out from the *Red Sea*, tho' belonging to *Arabia*, which is long and narrow, in the manner I ſhall here deſcribe: From the innermoſt Part of this Bay to the broad Sea, the Paſſage is of as great a Length as a Veſſel with Oars can perform in forty Days; and yet the Breadth in the wideſt Place is no more than half a Day over. The Tides of this Gulph are ſtrong; the Waters ebb and flow daily; and I am of Opinion that *Ægypt* was antiently

penetrated

penetrated in like manner by an Arm of the Sea, entring on the North ſide, and aſcending towards *Æthiopia*; as that of *Arabia*, which I mention'd before, ſtretches from the South towards *Syria*; and that the Extremities of theſe two had only a narrow Tract of Land lying between, and ſeparating the one from the other. Now, if the *Nile* would turn its Stream into the Arabian *Sinus*, what could hinder that River from filling the Channel with Earth in twenty thouſand Years? For, as I am perſuaded that the other has ſuffer'd the like Change within the Space of ten thouſand Years before my Time; I preſume that this, or even a much greater Channel may be fill'd up in that Time by ſuch a vigorous and abounding River. The Things therefore which I heard concerning *Ægypt*, together with the Teſtimony of my own Eyes, induce me to this Opinion; eſpecially having obſerv'd, that this Country lies lower than the next adjoining Region; that Shells are found on the Hills; that a brackiſh Humour iſſuing from the Earth corrodes the Stones of the Pyramids; and that among all the Mountains of *Ægypt*, this alone which is ſituate above *Memphis*, abounds in Sand. Beſides, *Ægypt* is utterly unlike all the adjacent Countries, whether of *Arabia*, *Libya*, or *Syria*; (for the maritim Parts of *Arabia* are inhabited by *Syrians*;) the Soil being black, looſe, and apparently ſuch as the *Nile* brings down from *Æthiopia*: Whereas we know that the Earth of *Libya* is reddiſh, and mix'd with Sand; as that of *Arabia* and *Syria* is either Stony, or mix'd with Clay. Another Particular, of great Moment to confirm what is ſaid touching this Coun-

try, I had from the Prieſts; who affirm, that, under the Reign of *Myris*, if the *Nile* roſe to the height of eight Cubits, all the Lands of *Ægypt* were ſufficiently water'd: And yet *Myris* had not been nine hundred Years dead, when I receiv'd this Information. But in our time, unleſs the River ſwells to ſixteen Cubits, or fifteen at leaſt, the Country is not cover'd with Water. So that if the Soil continues to increaſe in the ſame Proportion as in Ages paſt, I am perſuaded, that thoſe who inhabit below the Lake of *Myris*, and in all that Part which is call'd *Delta*, muſt for ever ſuffer by a Deficiency of Water: The ſame Calamity, they us'd to ſay, muſt at ſome time fall upon the Grecians. For having heard that all the Lands of *Greece* were water'd by Rain, and not, as *Ægypt*, by Rivers; they ſaid the Grecians, at ſome time or other, would be diſappointed of their Hopes and ſtarve: Meaning, if *Jupiter* ſhould not afford Rain, but ſend dry Seaſons in the place of wet, they muſt periſh by Famine, having no other Water than that which the Heavens are pleas'd to beſtow. I acknowledge this Diſcourſe is not altogether groundleſs; yet in return, I deſire to know of the Ægyptians, what Expedient they could invent to preſerve themſelves from ſtarving, if, as I ſaid before, all the Land below *Memphis*, which viſibly riſes every Year, ſhould continue hereafter to increaſe in the ſame Proportion; when the Country ſhall neither be water'd by Rain from Heaven, nor the River be ſufficient to aſcend above the Soil. At this Day indeed, no People in the World, nor in the reſt of *Ægypt*, enjoy the Productions of the Earth with ſo little Labour. They

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are exempted from the Toil of Plowing and Digging, and other painful parts of Huſbandry, to which all the reſt of Mankind are ſubject. For as ſoon as the River has overflow'd the Country, and retreated again, every Man ſows his own Land; and having put in his Hogs to tread the Seed into the Ground, expects the Harveſt without farther Care; and when that Seaſon comes, lets in his Hogs again, to ſhake the Grain out of the Ear, and has no other Trouble than to lay up his Corn. But if we ſhould follow the Opinion of the Ionians, who ſay, that the Country of *Delta* alone is properly call'd *Ægypt*; extending along the Shore from the Tower of *Perſeus* to the Salt-Pits of *Peluſium*, forty Schœnes in Length, and from the Sea upwards, to the City of *Cercaſora*, where the *Nile* divides, and deſcends towards *Peluſium* and *Canopus*; attributing the reſt of *Ægypt* partly to *Libya* and partly to *Arabia*; we ſhould evidently infer, that the Ægyptians had not formerly any Country. For they themſelves acknowledge, and I concur in Opinion with them, that *Delta* is form'd of the Soil which the River has brought down, and did not always exiſt. And if this be true, to what End were they ſo ſollicitous to be thought the moſt antient of all People? Sure they might have forborn to try by an Experiment, what Language Children would firſt ſpeak. For my own part, I am not of Opinion that the Ægyptians are preciſely coætaneous with the Country which the Ionians call *Delta*; but that they always were, ſince Men have been: And that as the Soil increas'd gradually, many came down from the higher Parts to inhabit the new form'd Earth; and

many continued in their former Poſſeſſions. For the Province of *Thebes* went antiently by the Name of *Ægypt*, and comprehends ſix thouſand one hundred and twenty Stades in Circumference. If therefore we judge rightly of theſe things, the Opinion of the Ionians is erroneous; but if their Sentiment be well grounded, we ſhall ſhew, that neither the Grecians nor the Ionians reaſon well, when they ſay the World is divided into three Parts; *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Libya*; becauſe they plainly add a fourth, if the Ægyptian *Delta* be not a Part either of *Libya*, or of *Aſia*. For, by their reaſoning, the *Nile* does not ſeparate *Aſia* from *Libya*; that River dividing at the Point of *Delta*, and rowling down on each ſide of a Region, which being thus encompaſs'd, can belong neither to *Libya* nor to *Aſia*. But not to inſiſt longer on the Opinion of the Ionians, I preſume, that all the Countries which the Ægyptians inhabit, ought to be accounted *Ægypt*, as thoſe of the Cilicians and Aſſyrians are known by the Names of *Cilicia* and *Aſſyria*. Neither can I imagine what Parts may be properly call'd the Bounds of *Aſia* and *Libya*, except the Limits of *Ægypt*. Yet if we follow the Opinion which the Grecians embrace, we muſt ſay, that all *Ægypt* below the Catadupians and the City of *Elephantis*, is divided into two Parts under two diſtinct Names, one belonging to *Libya*, and the other to *Aſia*. For the *Nile* deſcending from the Catadupians, paſſes thro' the midſt of *Ægypt* in one Channel towards the Sea, to the City of *Cercaſora*, and there ſeparates into three. That which runs out to the Eaſtward is called the *Peluſian* Mouth: The ſecond inclining Weſtward, goes by the Name

Name of *Canopean*: And the third Channel deſcending from above by a ſtraight Line, paſſes thro' the midſt of *Delta*, and being no way inferior to the other two in Fame, or Quantity of Water, is call'd the Mouth of *Sebennytus*; whence two more are deriv'd, which take their Names from the Cities of *Sais* and *Mendes*, and flow into the Sea. For thoſe of *Bolbitis* and *Bucolis* were not form'd by Nature, but are owing to the Induſtry of Men. To this Opinion concerning the Extent of *Ægypt*, I have the concurring Teſtimony of the Oracle of *Ammon*; which yet I had not heard before I was fully perſuaded of theſe things. For the People who inhabit the Cities of *Apis* and *Marea*, ſituate on the Frontier of *Ægypt*, next to the Borders of *Libya*, impatient of the Ægyptian Superſtition, and unwilling to abſtain from the Fleſh of Heifers, were very deſirous to be accounted Libyans rather than Ægyptians; and to that End conſulting the Oracle of *Ammon*, profeſs'd they had no Relation to the Ægyptians, becauſe they liv'd out of *Delta*, and could by no means agree with them, but deſir'd to eat all manner of Food without Diſtinction. Nevertheleſs, the God rejecting their Requeſt, pronounc'd, That *Ægypt* comprehends all the Territories which are overflow'd by the *Nile*; and that all thoſe who drink of that River below the City of *Elephantis*, are Ægyptians.

The Inundations of the *Nile* not only cover *Delta*, but the Frontier of *Libya* alſo, and ſometimes that of *Arabia*, to the Extent of about two Days Journey more or leſs on each ſide. And though I was very deſirous to be inform'd touching the Nature of this River, I could not

learn either from the Prieſts, or any other Perſons, what ſhould cauſe the *Nile* to overflow during a hundred Days after the Summer Solſtice, and then going off again in about the ſame ſpace of Time, to continue low all the Winter, and even to the return of the next Summer Solſtice. Of theſe Particulars I could get no Account from the Ægyptians; tho' I inquir'd, whether this River have any peculiar Quality, or be different in Nature from other Rivers: And my great Deſire to be inform'd, not only leads me to aſk theſe Queſtions; but alſo how it comes to paſs that the *Nile* alone, of all the Rivers in the World, never emits the leaſt Wind on the adjacent Parts. Nevertheleſs, ſome of the Grecians pretending to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Knowledge, have nam'd three ſeveral Cauſes of theſe Inundations; two of which I think deſerve ſo little Regard, that I ſhall only mention them, becauſe I would omit nothing concerning this Subject. They ſay firſt, that the Eteſian Winds are the Cauſe of the ſwelling of this River, by repelling the Stream, and preventing it from diſcharging into the Sea. But the *Nile* has ſometimes perform'd its Work, before the Eteſian Winds begin to blow: And beſides, if thoſe Winds were the Cauſe of theſe Inundations, all other Rivers that are expos'd to the ſame Winds, muſt of neceſſity be liable to the ſame Effect; and the rather, by being weaker and leſs rapid: Yet the Rivers of *Syria* and *Libya*, which are many, were never ſubject to the like Influence. The ſecond Opinion is more groundleſs than the former, tho' more wonderful; affirming, that the *Nile*, flowing from the Ocean, performs theſe things; and that the

Ocean

Ocean ſurrounds the whole Earth. The third Way of reſolving this Difficulty is the moſt probable, and yet moſt untrue. For by ſaying that the Waters of the *Nile* are produc'd by melted Snow, they ſay nothing; becauſe this River deſcends from *Libya* thro' the midſt of *Æthiopia* into *Ægypt*; that is to ſay, from a very hot to a very cold Region, and therefore cannot owe its Being to Snow. Many Reaſons will readily occur to Men of good Underſtanding, to ſhew the Improbability of this Opinion. Firſt and principally, becauſe the Winds which blow from *Æthiopia* are always hot. In the ſecond place, neither Rain nor Ice is ſeen in thoſe Countries; and yet Rain always follows within the ſpace of five Days after Snow: So that if Snow falls in thoſe Regions, Rain muſt. Beſides, the Inhabitants are render'd black by the exceſſive Heat; Swallows and Kites continue there all the Year; and the Cranes, to avoid the Cold of *Scythia*, come to paſs the Winter in that Country: All which could not be, if any Snow ſhould fall in the Parts adjacent to the Source and Paſſage of the *Nile*. As for thoſe who attribute theſe Inundations to the Ocean, they involve their Aſſertion in myſterious Fables, and give no ſolid Proof: Neither do I know any River ſo call'd; but conjecture that *Homer*, or ſome other antient Poet finding that Name, inſerted it in their Writings. Yet if after I have expreſs'd my Diſſatisfaction with the Opinions before-mention'd, I muſt give my own concerning ſo intricate a Queſtion, That which cauſes the *Nile* to overflow in Summer, is, in my Judgment, this. During the Winter, the Sun relinquiſhing his former Courſe,

retires to the upper Regions of *Libya*; which in few Words comprehends the whole Matter; for this God diminiſhes the Rivers, and ſinks the Streams of thoſe Countries that lie neareſt to his Paſſage. But to explain my meaning more amply, I ſay, that the Sun paſſing over the remoter Parts of *Libya*, which are always clear, hot, and liable to freſh Winds, acts then in the ſame manner there, as in other Places in the midſt of Summer; attracting the Moiſture, and throwing it back again upon the higher Regions; where it is received and liquefied by the Winds, which in this Climate blow generally from the South and South-Weſt, and conſequently moſt attended with Wet of any other. Yet I am of Opinion, that the Sun may retain ſome Part of the Water, and not diſcharge all every Year into the *Nile*. But when the Rigours of Winter are paſt, and the Sun returns again to the midſt of the Heavens, all Rivers are attracted by the Heat in equal Proportion. To which time all other Streams, by the falling of frequent Rains, run high, and overflow the adjacent Parts; whereas in Summer being deſtitute of Rain, and at the ſame Time exhal'd by the Sun, they ſink to a contemptible Lowneſs: But the *Nile*, though deſtitute of Rain, and attracted by the Sun, is the only River that runs higher in Summer than in Winter. Yet this River is as liable to Exhalation by the Sun as any other during the Summer, and in Winter is ſingly ſubject to that Effect. From all which, as I conceive, the Sun is the Cauſe of the Inundations of the *Nile*. And in my Opinion, the Dryneſs of the Air in thoſe Parts proceeds from the ſcorching Heat of the ſame Being,

ing, which affects in an extraordinary manner all that lies near its Paſſage: And for this Occaſion the upper Regions of *Libya* are always hot. Now if ſuch a Change of Seaſons and Climate could be made, that the South Winds might take the Place of the North, and the North Winds be transferr'd to the Southward, the Sun retiring from the North in Winter to the upper Regions of *Europe*, and paſſing through thoſe Parts, as now he does through *Libya*, would doubtleſs cauſe the ſame Effects in the *Iſter*, which we now ſee in the *Nile*. And whereas I ſaid before, that no Wind blows from this River; my Opinion is, that Winds are the natural Production of cold Climates, and that the hotteſt ſeldom produce any. But I leave theſe things as they are, and as they always were.

TOUCHING the Source of the *Nile*, no Man of all the Ægyptians, Libyans, or Grecians I have convers'd with, ever pretended to know any thing certain; except a Scribe who had the Charge of *Minerva*'s Treaſury at *Sais*, a City of *Ægypt*. And tho' I thought he trifled with me, when he ſaid he was perfectly inform'd of this Secret, I ſhall yet give a Place here to his Relation. *Crophi*, ſaid he, and *Mophi*, are two Mountains with Heads of a Pyramidical Form, ſituate in the Way from *Elephantis* to *Syrene*, a City of *Thebais*; and between theſe Hills is a profound Abyſs, which contains the Springs of the *Nile*. One half of the Water iſſuing from this Place runs into *Ægypt* Northward; the other half paſſes Southward to *Æthiopia*: And that the Source of the *Nile* is an Abyſs, *Pſammetichus* King of *Ægypt* found by an Experiment. For having caus'd a Line

of twiſted Cord to be made many thouſand Fathom in Length, he ſounded the Depth, but could not find a Bottom. Which, if admitted for true, would induce me to believe, that Cataracts of Water continually falling down from the two Hills, make ſuch violent Tides and Whirlepools below, as to hinder a Line from fathoming the Place: And more than this I never could hear from any Man.

I travell'd to *Elephantis*, and ſaw all Parts of the Country with my own Eyes; but of thoſe which are ſituate beyond that City, I ſpeak upon the Credit of others, and the moſt exact Information I could get. Thoſe who aſcend the River above the City of *Elephantis*, find a Country in their Paſſage ſo ſteep, that every Veſſel, like a Cow tied by the Horns, is drawn by Ropes faſten'd to each ſide, and muſt be hurried down the Stream by the Impetuoſity of the Torrent, if the Ropes ſhould happen to break. This Region is four Days Voyage from *Elephantis*, and the *Nile* is there as crooked and full of Windings as the *Mæander*. Theſe Difficulties continue till the Veſſel has made twelve full Schœnes: After which the Navigation is level; and an Iſland call'd *Tachompſo* appears in the midſt of the *Nile*. The Æthiopians inhabit the Country beyond *Elephantis*, and one half of the Iſland *Tachompſo*, the other half being in the Poſſeſſion of the Ægyptians. Contiguous to this Iſland lies a vaſt Lake, the Borders of which are inhabited by Æthiopian Herdſmen; and from that Lake the Veſſel enters again into the Channel of the *Nile*. A little beyond this Place Men are oblig'd to go aſhore, and to travel forty Days by the ſide of the River; becauſe

becauſe the Frequency of Rocks and Shelves renders the Navigation of thoſe Parts utterly impracticable. At the End of theſe forty Days, they go on board another Veſſel, and arrive in about twelve more at the great City of *Meroe*, which is accounted the Capital of all *Æthiopia*. The Inhabitants of that Place worſhip no other Gods than *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but theſe they adore with extraordinary Pomp. They have an Oracle of *Jupiter*; and make War, when that God commands, againſt any Nation whatever. The Diſtance between *Meroe* and the Automoles, is the ſame as between *Elephantis* and *Meroe*. This People is call'd by the Name of *Aſmak*, which in the Languge of *Greece* ſignifies, *Thoſe that ſtand at the left Hand of the King*. Their Anceſtors were Ægyptians; and being in Number two hundred and forty thouſand military Men, revolted to the Æthiopians on the following Occaſion. Some of them were plac'd in Garriſon at *Elephantis*, and in the *Peluſian Daphne*, to ſecure thoſe Parts againſt the Æthiopians: Others were poſted on the Frontiers of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria*, and ſome in *Marea* on the Confines of *Libya*: Which Method of *Pſammetichus* we have ſeen imitated by the Perſians of our time, who maintain Guards both in *Elephantis*, and *Daphne*. Theſe Ægyptians, after they had continu'd three Years in their reſpective Poſts, without hearing any thing of being reliev'd, conſulted together; and unanimouſly reſolving to abandon *Pſammetichus*, march'd away to *Æthiopia*. When the King heard what was doing, he follow'd, overtook, and adjur'd them not to forſake the Gods of their Fathers, with their own Wives and Children.

dren. But in Anſwer to his Exhortation, one of the Ægyptians is reported to have uncover'd his private Parts, and to have ſaid, That whereſoever theſe were, there could not be wanting either Wives or Children. So continuing their March, they preſented themſelves to the King of *Æthiopia*; who in Recompence ſent them into a Country which was diſaffected to him, with Orders to expel the Inhabitants, and to poſſeſs their Lands: By the Settlement of which Colony the Æthiopians became more civiliz'd, and learnt the Manners of the Ægyptians. Thus four whole Months are requir'd to view the Courſe of the *Nile*, partly by Land, and partly by Water, without including its Paſſage through *Ægypt*. For upon Computation, ſo much Time will be found neceſſary to thoſe who travel from *Elephantis* to the Automoles. This River deſcends from the Weſt and the Setting of the Sun; but to trace its Original, is a vain Attempt, becauſe the exceſſive Heat renders the reſt of the Country deſert and uninhabited.

I WAS alſo inform'd by ſome Cyrenæans, that in a Journey they took to the Oracle of *Ammon*, they had conferr'd with *Etearchus* King of the Ammonians; and that, among other things, diſcourſing with him concerning the Head of the *Nile*, as of a thing altogether unknown, *Etearchus* acquainted them, that certain Naſamonians, a Nation of *Libya* inhabiting the Borders of the *Syrtis* to the Eaſtward, coming into his Country, and being aſk'd by him if they had learnt any thing new touching the Libyan Deſerts, anſwered, That ſome petulant young Men, Sons to divers Perſons of great Power among

among them, had, after many extravagant Actions, reſolv'd to ſend five of their Number to the Deſerts of *Libya*, to ſee if they could make any farther Diſcovery than others had done. For the Northern Coaſt of *Libya*, from *Ægypt* to the Promontory of *Solois*, where *Libya* terminates, is inhabited by Libyans of various Nations; except thoſe Parts alone, which are poſſeſs'd by the Grecians and Phœnicians. Above this Coaſt, and the maritim Places, which are well peopled, the next Country is abandon'd to Beaſts of Prey; and all beyond that is deſtitute of Water, cover'd with Sands, and utterly deſolate. The young Men choſen by their Companions to make this Expedition, having furniſhed themſelves with Water and other neceſſary Proviſions, firſt paſs'd thro' the inhabited Country; and when they had likewiſe travers'd that Region which abounds in Wild Beaſts, they entered the Deſerts, making their Way towards the South-Weſt. After they had travell'd many Days thro' the Sands, they at length ſaw ſome Trees growing in a Plain, and while they were eating of the Fruit they found on the Branches, divers little Men, leſs than thoſe we account of a middle Stature, came up to them, ſpeaking a Language which the Naſamonians underſtood not; neither did they underſtand the Speech of the Naſamonians. However, they conducted them over vaſt Moraſſes to a City built on a great River running from the Weſt to the Eaſt, and abounding in Crocodiles; where the Naſamonians found all the Inhabitants black, and of no larger Size than their Guides. To this Relation *Etearchus* added, as the Cyrenæans aſſur'd me, that the Naſamonians returned

ſafe to their own Country, and that the little Men were all Enchanters; but for the River, which paſſes by their City, he thought it to be the *Nile*; and his Opinion is not unreaſonable; becauſe the *Nile* deſcends from *Libya*, dividing the Country in the midſt; and, as I form my Conjectures of things unknown on things known, may probably run thro' as large a Tract of Land as the *Iſter*. For the *Iſter* beginning to appear at the City of *Pyrenne* among the Celtes, who inhabit beyond the Columns of *Hercules*, and border on the Territories of the Cyneſians, which lie in the Extremity of *Europe* to the Weſtward, paſſes thro' all this Part of the World, and ends at the *Euxin Sea*, in the Country of the Iſtrians, who are a Mileſian Colony. Now, the *Iſter* is generally known, becauſe the adjacent Parts are every where well peopled; but the Springs of the *Nile* are undiſcover'd, becauſe this River paſſes thro' the uninhabited Deſerts of *Libya*. I ſhall therefore ſay no more concerning the Courſe of the *Nile*, having already mention'd as much as I could learn by the moſt diligent Inquiry; only that it flows into the Sea by the way of *Ægypt*, which lies oppoſite to the Mountains of *Cilicia*, from whence a ſtrong Man may travel in five Days to *Sinope*, a Place ſituate on the *Euxin*, and directly facing the Mouth of the *Iſter*. So that in my Opinion the *Nile*, which traverſes all *Libya*, may be properly compar'd with the *Iſter*. And thus I have finiſh'd my Account of the *Nile*.

I SHALL now proceed in my Diſcourſe concerning *Ægypt* which will be very ample and particular, becauſe that Country far ſurpaſſes all others in things admirable, and beyond Expreſſi-

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on remarkable. For as the Climate and River of *Ægypt* differ in Nature from thoſe of any other Region; ſo the Ægyptians have fram'd their Laws and Manners very different from the reſt of Mankind. The Women of *Ægypt* are employ'd in Trade and Buſineſs, while the Men ſtay at home to ſpin and weave. Other Nations weave the rough ſide of the Piece uppermoſt, the Ægyptians underneath. The Men bend the Body when they make Water, but the Women perform that Action ſtanding. The Ægyptians diſcharge their Excrements at home, and eat in publick; alledging, that whatever is indecent, though neceſſary, ought to be done in private, but things no way unbecoming ſhould be done openly. No Woman may be a Prieſteſs of any God or Goddeſs: Men only are employ'd in thoſe Offices. Sons are not conſtrained to make Proviſion for their Parents, if they are not willing; but Daughters, however unwilling, are compell'd to this Duty. In other Countries the Prieſts of the Gods wear Hair; in *Ægypt* they are all ſhav'd. Among other People, the general Cuſtom in time of Mourning is, that thoſe who are moſt nearly concern'd ſhave their Heads; but when any one dies in *Ægypt* his Relations ceaſe to ſhave, and let the Hair grow on their Heads and Faces. In other Regions, the Apartments of Men are ſeparated from Beaſts; whereas in *Ægypt* Man and Beaſt live together. Other Nations uſe Barley and Wheat for Food; which would be a Reproach among the Ægyptians, who make Bread of a fine Flower call'd by ſome Olyra, and by others Zea. They work this into Paſte with their Feet; but temper Mortar with their

their Hands. The Ægyptians are circumcis'd in their ſecret Parts; which all other Men leave as they are form'd by Nature; thoſe only excepted, who have learnt this Cuſtom from them. The Men wear two Garments, the Women but one. They faſten the Ropes and Hooks to the inſide of the Sails, and all other Nations to the outſide. When the Grecians write or calculate with Counters, they carry the Hand from the Left to the Right; but the Ægyptians, on the contrary, from the Right to the Left: And yet pretend in doing ſo, that their Line tends to the Right, and ours to the Left. They have two ſorts of Letters; one of which they call ſacred, and the other vulgar. They are of all Mankind the moſt exceſſive Worſhippers of the Gods, and uſe theſe Ceremonies. They drink in Cups of Braſs, which they ſcour every Day; and this Cuſtom is not only practis'd by ſome particular Men, but by all the Ægyptians in general. They wear Garments of Linen freſh waſh'd, taking ſingular Care to have them always clean, and are circumcis'd principally for the ſake of Cleanlineſs, which they eſteem more than Ornament. The Prieſts ſhave all Parts of the Body once in three Days; leſt Lice or any other Impurity ſhould be found about thoſe who officiate in the Service of the Gods. They are cloath'd in Linen, wear Shoes of Linen, and are not permitted to dreſs in any other Manner. They conſtantly bathe themſelves twice in cold Water by Day, and twice by Night; uſing ſo many other Superſtitions, that we may ſay their Number is infinite. On the other Hand they enjoy great Advantages: For they are never diſturb'd with domeſtick Cares

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and Expences: They eat the conſecrated Bread, and are daily furniſh'd with Beef and Geeſe in abundance. They have an Allowance of Wine; but may not taſte of Fiſh. Beans are never ſow'd in any Part of *Ægypt*; and if ſome happen to grow there, the Ægyptians will not eat them either crude or dreſs'd. As for the Prieſts, they abhor the Sight of that Pulſe, accounting it impure and abominable. The Service of every God is perform'd, not by one, but by many Prieſts, the principal being call'd the Arch-Prieſt; and when he dies, his Son is ſubſtituted in his Place. They ſacrifice Bulls to *Apis*; and for that Reaſon make the following Trial. If they find one black Hair upon him, they adjuge him to be unclean; which that they may know with Certainty, the Prieſt appointed to this Purpoſe views every Part of the Animal, both ſtanding and laid down on the Ground. After this he draws out his Tongue, to ſee if he be clean by certain Signs, which I ſhall mention in another Diſcourſe. In the laſt place he looks upon the Hairs of his Tail, that he may be ſure they are as by Nature they ought to be. If after this Search the Beaſt is found unblemiſh'd, he ties a Label about his Horns; and having ſeal'd it with the Signet of his Ring, orders him to be led away and ſecur'd; becauſe it is Death to ſacrifice one of theſe Animals, unleſs he has been mark'd with ſuch a Seal. And thus having related the Form of this Examination, I proceed to the Manner of their Sacrifices. After they have brought the Victim to the Altar, they immediately kindle a Fire, and pouring Wine upon him, offer their Prayers to the God. This done, they kill

kill the Beaſt, flay the Body, and cut off the Head, which they carry with many Imprecations to the publick Place, if they have any, and ſell it to ſome Grecian Merchant; but if no ſuch is to be found, they throw it into the River, uſing this Form of Execration; "May "all the Evils impending over thoſe that now "ſacrifice, or over the Ægyptians in general, "be averted on this Head." Theſe Ceremonies of the Libation of Wine, and the Manner of devoting the Head of the Sacrifice, are practis'd in all the Temples of *Ægypt*; and for this Reaſon no Ægyptian will eat of the Head of any Animal. But in the Choice of their Victims, and Burnt-Offerings, they have different Cuſtoms in ſeveral Places.

THE Goddeſs they principally worſhip is call'd *Iſis*, and they celebrate her Feſtival with all imaginable Solemnity. On the preceding Day they faſt, and after they have pray'd, they ſacrifice a Bullock; taking out the Bowels, and leaving the Fat with the Vitals in the Carcaſs. This done, they cut off the Legs and End of the Loyn, together with the Shoulders and Neck; and having fill'd the Body with fine Bread, Honey, dried Raiſins, Figs, Incenſe, Myrrh, and other Perfumes, they perform the Rites of Conſecration, and pour in a great Quantity of Oyl. They ſacrifice faſting; beating themſelves during all the Time the Fleſh lies on the Fire; and when they have ſo done, they feaſt upon the reſt of the Offering. All the Cattle of this Kind, whether full grown or Calves, us'd by the Ægyptians in their Sacrifices, are unblemiſh'd Males; but the Females being ſacred to *Iſis*, are forbidden to be

offer'd. For the Image of *Iſis* is always made in the Form of a Woman with the Horns of a Cow on her Head, as the Grecians repreſent *Io*: And for this Reaſon all the Ægyptians pay a greater Reverence to that Animal than to any other. So that no Man or Woman among them will ever be perſuaded to kiſs a Grecian on the Mouth; or to uſe the ſame Knife, Pot, or Spit; nor to eat the Fleſh even of unblemiſh'd Cattle, which has been cut up with the Knife of a Grecian. When any Beaſt of this ſort happens to die, they diſpoſe of the Body in the following Manner: They throw the Females into the River, and interr the Males in the Parts adjoining to the City, with one Horn, and ſometimes both appearing above the Ground, for a Mark of the Grave. When the Fleſh is conſum'd, ſo as all the Bones may be tranſported, a Veſſel appointed to that End arrives at a certain time from *Proſopites*, an Iſland of *Delta*, which comprehends nine Schœnes of Land in Circumference and ſeveral Cities. The Veſſel is ſent by one of theſe, call'd *Atarbechis*, where a Temple ſtands dedicated to *Venus*, and from whence many others are diſpatch'd to different Parts. After they have thus collected all the Bones, they bury them together in any one Place; and the ſame Rites are obſerv'd with relation to other Cattle. For the Ægyptians are forbidden by their Laws to kill any.

THOSE who worſhip in the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, or belong to that Country, abſtain from Sheep, and ſacrifice Goats only. For the Ægyptians are not unanimous in their Manner of honouring the Gods, if we except

Iſis and *Oſiris*, who, they ſay, is no other than *Bacchus*: But in the Worſhip of theſe Deities they all agree. On the other hand, thoſe who frequent the *Temple* of *Mendes*, with all the Inhabitants of that Territory, abſtain from ſacrificing Goats, and offer Sheep only. Now the Thebans and all thoſe who abſtain from Sheep after their Example, pretend that this Cuſtom was eſtabliſh'd among them by the means of *Hercules*; who being very deſirous to ſee *Jupiter*, did not without great Difficulty obtain his Requeſt; for the God was unwilling to be ſeen; till at laſt *Jupiter* yielding to his Importunity, contriv'd this Artifice. Having ſeparated the Head from the Body of a Ram, and flayed the whole Carcaſs, he put on the Skin with the Wool, and in that Form ſhew'd himſelf to *Hercules*. For this cauſe the Ægyptians repreſent *Jupiter* by an Image wearing the Head of a Ram: In which they have been imitated by the Ammonians, who are a Colony of Ægyptians and Æthiopians, ſpeaking a Language compos'd of Words taken from both thoſe Nations; and, as I conjecture, have given themſelves the Name of Ammonians, becauſe *Jupiter* is by the Ægyptians call'd *Ammon*. For the ſame Reaſon the Ram is accounted a ſacred Animal, and never kill'd by the Thebans, except once in every Year on the Feſtival of *Jupiter*; when, after they have flay'd the Body, and put the Skin upon the Image of the God, they bring a Statue of *Hercules* into his Preſence: Which done, all the Aſſiſtants give a Blow to the Ram, and afterwards bury him in a conſecrated Coffin. I have been inform'd, that this Ægyptian *Hercules* is one of the twelve Gods; but of the other, who is known to the Grecians, I

could never hear the leaſt mention in any part of *Ægypt*. And I have many good Reaſons to believe, that the Ægyptians did not borrow this Name from the Grecians; but rather the Grecians, and eſpecially thoſe who gave it to the Son of *Amphitryon*, from the Ægyptians: Principally, becauſe *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*, Father and Mother to the Grecian *Hercules*, were both of Ægyptian Deſcent. Beſides; the Ægyptians affirm, they know not the Names of *Neptune*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, nor ever receiv'd them into the Number of their Gods: Yet if they had borrow'd the Name of any Deity from the Grecians, they would certainly have mention'd theſe in the firſt Rank, had any of the Grecians then frequented the Sea, and been acquainted with the Uſe of Shipping, as I believe they were. And therefore the Ægyptians muſt have known the Names of theſe Gods, rather than that of *Hercules*. But however this be, *Hercules* is one of the antient Gods of the Ægyptians; who ſay, that ſeventeen thouſand Years before the Reign of *Amaſis*, the number of their Gods, which had been eight, was increas'd to twelve, and that *Hercules* was accounted one of theſe. Concerning which things, being deſirous to know with Certainty as much as might be diſcover'd, I ſail'd to *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, becauſe I had heard there was a Temple dedicated to *Hercules*. That Temple I ſaw, enrich'd with many magnificent Donations, and among others with two Pillars, one of fine Gold, the other made of a Smaragdus, which ſhines by Night in a ſurprizing Manner. Converſing with the Prieſts of this God, and inquiring how long this Temple had been built, I found theſe alſo to differ from

the Grecians. For they aſſur'd me that the Temple was built at the ſame Time with the City, and that two thouſand three hundred Years were already paſt ſince the Foundation of *Tyre*. In this City I ſaw another Temple dedicated to *Hercules* by the Name of Thaſian; and when I arriv'd in *Thaſus*, I found there alſo a Temple of the ſame God, built by thoſe Phœnicians, who founded that City during the Expedition they made in Search of *Europa*; which was five Generations before *Hercules* the Son of *Amphitryon* appear'd in *Greece*. All theſe things evidently prove, that the Ægyptian *Hercules* is a God of great Antiquity; and therefore, in my Opinion, thoſe Grecians act moſt rationally, who build Temples to both; ſacrificing to the firſt, as to an Immortal Being, under the Name of Olympian, and honouring the other as a Hero. But the Grecians ſay many other things on this Subject without due Examination, and in particular have invented the following Fable. When *Hercules*, ſay they, arriv'd in *Ægypt*, the Ægyptians crown'd him with a Garland, and deſigning to ſacrifice him to *Jupiter*, conducted him to the Altar in great Ceremony: During the Way he was ſilent; but when they had brought him thither, he collected all his Strength, and kill'd every Man that was there preſent. Now thoſe who tell this Story, ſeem to me utterly ignorant of the Nature and Laws of the Ægyptians. For how can we imagine that a People forbidden to kill any kind of Animal, except Geeſe, Swine, and ſuch Bulls and Calves as they find without Blemiſh, would ſacrifice Men? And how could *Hercules* kill ſo many thouſands; being then alone,

alone, and at that Time, by their own Confeſſion, no more than a Man? Nevertheleſs, I deſire the Gods and the Heroes would take in good part what I have ſaid concerning theſe things.

THE Reaſon that prevails with the Mendeſians I mention'd before, not to ſacrifice the Goats, either Male or Female, is, becauſe they account *Pan* one of the eight Gods, who, they ſay, are more antient than the twelve. And indeed their Painters and Sculptors repreſent *Pan* with the Face and Legs of a Goat, as the Grecians do. Not that they imagine this to be his real Form, for they think him like other Gods; but I have no Inclination to mention the Reaſon they give for repreſenting him in that manner. However, the Mendeſians pay a religious Worſhip to all Goats, but to the Males much more than to the Females; and highly reverence the Goatherds; particularly one, who is honour'd at his Death by publick Lamentations in all Parts of the Country. In the Language of *Ægypt*, *Pan* and a Goat are equally call'd by the Name of *Mendes*: And in my Time a Goat lay with a Woman of that Country in ſo publick a manner, that all Men knew the Prodigy to have really happen'd. Swine are accounted ſuch impure Beaſts by the Ægyptians, that if a Man touches one, even by accident, he preſently haſtens to the River, and in all his Cloaths plunges himſelf into the Water. For this reaſon Hogherds alone, of all the Ægyptians, are not ſuffer'd to enter any of their Temples; neither will any Man give his Daughter in Marriage to one of that Profeſſion, nor take a Wife born of ſuch Parents: So that they are neceſſitated to intermarry among themſelves.

ſelves. The Ægyptians are forbidden to ſacrifice Swine to any other Deities than to *Bacchus*, and to the Moon, when compleatly full; at which Time they may eat of the Fleſh. But if I ſhould mention the Reaſon they give for the Liberty they then take, and for abſtaining from that Animal on all other Feſtivals, I ſhould offend againſt Decency: And therefore I ſhall only ſay, That when they offer this Sacrifice to the Moon, and have kill'd the Victim, they put the End of the Tail, with the Spleen and Fat, into a Cawl found in the Belly of the Animal; all which they burn on the ſacred Fire, and eat the reſt of the Fleſh on the Day of the full Moon, tho' at any other time they would not taſte it. Thoſe, who on account of their Poverty cannot bear the Expence of this Sacrifice, mould a Paſte into the Form of a Hog, and make their Offering. In the Evening of the Feſtival of *Bacchus*, tho' every one be oblig'd to kill a Swine before the Door of his Houſe, yet he immediately reſtores the Carcaſs to the Hogherd that ſold him. The reſt of this Feſtival is celebrated in *Ægypt* to the Honour of *Bacchus* with the ſame Ceremonies as in *Greece:* Only inſtead of the Phallus they have invented certain Images of one Cubit in Height, ſo artificially contriv'd with Nerves, that the *Priapus*, almoſt equal in Bigneſs to the reſt of the Body, is ſeen to move, while the Women, who make the Proceſſion, carry the Images, ſinging the Praiſes of *Bacchus*, and preceded by a Flute. But the Reaſon they have to form this Part ſo diſproportion'd to the Body, and to give it theſe Motions, they ſay is a ſacred Myſtery. For my own part, I think *Melampus* the Son of *Amytheon*

theon was not ignorant of any thing relating to this Ceremony, but perfectly well inſtructed in all theſe Rites. For he firſt introduc'd the Name and Sacrifices of *Bacchus* among the Grecians, together with the Pomp of the Phallus; tho' he did not ſo fully explain every Particular, as other learned Perſons have done who liv'd after him. But *Melampus* was certainly the firſt that taught the Grecians to carry the Phallus in Proceſſion to the Honour of *Bacchus*, and introduc'd all the Ceremonies they uſe on that Occaſion. I think him to have been a wiſe Man, ſkilful in the Art of Divination; and that he inſtructed the Grecians in many things which were deriv'd from *Ægypt*; but eſpecially in the Worſhip of *Bacchus*, changing only ſome few Particulars. For I ſhall not ſay that the Agreement of theſe two Nations in the uſe of the ſame Rites in the Service of this God, is the Effect of Chance; becauſe they are perform'd in a uniform Manner thro' all *Greece*, and were not lately introduc'd: Neither ſhall I pretend that the Ægyptians have borrow'd theſe, or any other Rites from the Grecians. But I am of opinion that *Melampus* was inſtructed in the Ceremonies of *Bacchus* chiefly by *Cadmus* the Tyrian, and thoſe Phœnicians who accompanied him to that Country, which now goes under the Name of *Bœotia*. And indeed the Names of almoſt all the Grecian Gods were originally deriv'd from the Ægyptians; as I found, after I had heard that they were introduc'd by barbarous Nations. Only we muſt except *Neptune*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, mention'd before; *Juno*, *Veſta*, *Themis*, the *Graces*, *Nereides*, and ſome others, whoſe Names are ut-

terly unknown in *Ægypt*, as the Ægyptians affirm; and, as I conjecture, are all owing to the Pelaſgians, except that of *Neptune*, which they learnt from the Libyans, who firſt invok'd the Name of this God, and always worſhipp'd him with ſingular Veneration. But the Ægyptians pay no religious Honour to Heroes.

THESE, and other Rites which I ſhall afterwards mention, the Grecians receiv'd from the Ægyptians; but they learnt of the Pelaſgians to make the Image of *Hermes* with an erected Priapus, the Athenians having been the firſt who practis'd this Manner, and others by their Example. For in that Time the Pelaſgians inhabited Part of the Athenian Territories; and, becauſe the Athenians were accounted among the Nations of *Greece*, came likewiſe to be eſteem'd Grecians. Whoever is initiated in the Cabirian Myſteries of the Samothracians, which they receiv'd from the Pelaſgians, knows what I ſay. For theſe Pelaſgians were Inhabitants of *Samothracia*, before they came into the Country of *Attica*, and had inſtructed the Samothracians in the Orgian Rites; as they afterwards did the Athenians, who by that means were the firſt of all the Grecians that form'd the Images of *Mercury* in the manner above-mention'd: For which the Pelaſgians pretend certain ſacred Reaſons, explain'd in the Myſteries of *Samothracia*. They had formerly ſacrific'd and pray'd to Gods in general, as I was inform'd at *Dodona*, without attributing either Name or Surname to any Deity, which in thoſe Times they had never heard: But they call'd them by the Name of Gods, becauſe they diſpos'd and govern'd all Actions and Countries.

tries. After a long Time, the Names of the other Gods were brought among them from *Ægypt*, and laſt of all that of *Bacchus*: Upon which they conſulted the Oracle of *Dodona*, ſtill accounted the moſt ancient, and then the only Oracle in *Greece*; and having enquir'd, whether they ſhould receive theſe Names from Barbarians, the Oracle anſwer'd, they ſhould. So from that time they invok'd the Gods in their Sacrifices, under diſtinct Names, and the ſame were afterwards receiv'd by the Grecians from theſe Pelaſgians. But what Original is to be aſſign'd to each of thoſe Gods; whether they always were, and of what Form, was utterly unknown till of late, and, to uſe a common Expreſſion, of Yeſterday. For I am of Opinion, that *Heſiod* and *Homer*, who liv'd not above four hundred Years before my time, were the Perſons that introduc'd the Genealogy of the Gods among the Grecians; impos'd Names upon each; aſſign'd their Functions and Honours; and cloath'd them in their ſeveral Forms. As to the other Poets, ſuppos'd to be more ancient, I think they liv'd after theſe. And this is my Senſe touching *Heſiod* and *Homer*; but the reſt, which I related before, I had from the Prieſteſſes of *Dodona*.

Concerning the Oracles of *Greece* and *Libya*, the Ægyptians give the following Account. The Prieſts of the Theban *Jupiter* told me, that two Prieſteſſes were carried away out of that Country by certain Phœnicians; who afterwards, as they were inform'd, ſold one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, and that theſe two Women eſtabliſh'd the firſt Oracles among thoſe People. When I enquir'd how they

they knew this to be true, they anſwer'd, That indeed the Women were never found, though all poſſible Diligence was us'd to that End; but they had ſince learnt, that things had paſs'd as they related. This Account I receiv'd from the Prieſts of *Thebes*. On the other hand, the principal Prieſteſſes of *Dodona* ſay, that two black Pigeons flew away at a certain time from *Thebes* in *Ægypt*; that one of theſe arriv'd in *Libya*, and the other in *Dodona*; that this laſt, as ſhe ſat pearch'd on a Beach-tree, admoniſh'd the Inhabitants with an articulate Voice, to erect an Oracle in that Place to *Jupiter*; and that the People believing this to be no leſs than a divine Revelation, readily obey'd. They add, that the other Pigeon, which flew into *Libya*, commanded the Lybians to found the Oracle of *Ammon* dedicated to the ſame God. Theſe things are ſaid by the Prieſteſſes of *Dodona*, and affirm'd by all that belong to the Temple. The eldeſt of theſe Women is nam'd *Promenia*, the ſecond *Timarete*, and the third *Nicandra*. But my Opinion is, that if the Phœnicians did really carry off the two Prieſteſſes beforemention'd, and ſold the one in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, this laſt was bought by the Theſprotians, who inhabited thoſe Parts which are now call'd *Hellas*, and in that time were known by the Name of *Pelaſgia*: That during her Servitude ſhe conſecrated an Altar to *Jupiter* under a Beach; nothing being more natural, than to ſuppoſe that ſhe who had been a Prieſteſs of that God in *Thebes*, would not be unmindful of his Worſhip in another Place; that this is the Original of that Oracle; and that after ſhe had learnt the Language of *Greece*, ſhe de-

clar'd

clar'd that her Siſter had met with the like Fortune, and had been ſold in *Libya* by the ſame Phœnicians. The Dodonæans, as I conjecture, gave them the Name of Pigeons, becauſe they were Barbarians, and their Speech no more underſtood than the chattering of Birds: But as ſoon as this Woman became able to ſpeak their Language, they preſently reported that the Pigeon had ſpoken with a human Voice; for while ſhe continued to uſe a barbarous Tongue, ſhe was no better underſtood than a Bird. If theſe things are not ſo, I deſire to be inform'd how a Pigeon ſhould come to ſpeak the Language of Men. In a Word, they ſeem to have had the Epithet of Black, becauſe they were Ægyptians. And as the Oracles of *Dodona*, and of *Thebes*, are almoſt alike in every thing, we may conclude, that the Cuſtom of predicting future Events in Temples, is deriv'd from the Ægyptians.

The Ægyptians were alſo the firſt Inventers of Feſtivals, Ceremonies, and Tranſactions with the Gods, by the Mediation of others: All which I perſuade myſelf the Grecians receiv'd from that People; becauſe they plainly appear to have been very ancient among the Ægyptians, and but lately introduc'd in *Greece*. 'Tis not thought ſufficient in *Ægypt* to celebrate the Feſtivals of the Gods once every Year; but they have many Times appointed to that End: Particularly in the City of *Bubaſtis*, where they aſſemble to worſhip *Diana* with much Devotion; and in *Buſiris*, a Place ſituate in the midſt of *Delta*, where the great Temple of *Iſis*, by the Grecians call'd *Demeter*, is built. The Feſtivals of *Minerva* are ſolemniz'd in the City of *Sais*; and

and thoſe of the Sun in *Heliopolis*. *Latona* is particularly worſhipp'd in *Butus*, and *Mars* in the City of *Papremis*. The manner obſerv'd in the Feſtivals of *Bubaſtis*, is this: Men and Women embark promiſcuouſly in great Numbers, and during the Voyage, ſome of the Women beat upon a Tabor, while part of the Men play on the Pipe; the reſt of both Sexes ſinging and ſtriking their Hands together at the ſame time. At every City they find in their Paſſage, they hawl in the Veſſel, and ſome of the Women continue their Muſick; but others either provoke the Women of the Place with opprobrious Language, or dance and ſhew themſelves naked: And this they do at every Town that ſtands by the Shore. When they arrive at *Bubaſtis*, they celebrate the Feſtival with numerous Sacrifices, and conſume more Wine than in all the reſt of the Year. For the Inhabitants ſay this Aſſembly uſually conſiſts of about ſeven hundred thouſand Men and Women, beſides Children. I have already related how the Worſhip of *Iſis* is perform'd in the City of *Buſiris*; and ſhall only add, that after the Sacrifices, all the Men and Women then preſent, who always amount to many thouſands, diſcipline themſelves, but with what Inſtrument I may not diſcover. In this Devotion the Carians that live in *Ægypt* ſurpaſs all; for they cut their Foreheads with Swords, and by this Action diſtinguiſh themſelves to be Strangers, and not Ægyptians. When they meet to ſacrifice in the City of *Sais*, they hang up by Night a great number of Lamps fill'd with Oil, and a Mixture of Salt, round every Houſe, the Tow ſwimming on the Surface. Theſe burn during the whole Night, and the Feſtival is thence nam'd

nam'd, *The Lighting of Lamps.* The Ægyptians who are not preſent at this Solemnity, obſerve the ſame Ceremonies, wherever they be; and Lamps are lighted that Night, not only in *Sais*, but throughout all *Ægypt*. Nevertheleſs, the Reaſons for uſing theſe Illuminations, and paying ſo great Reſpect to this Night, are kept ſecret. Thoſe who aſſemble on ſuch ſolemn Occaſions at *Heliopolis* and *Butus*, offer Sacrifices only, without any farther Ceremonies. But in *Papremis*, when they have perform'd their Worſhip, and finiſh'd their Offerings, as in other Places, a ſmall number of Prieſts at the Setting of the Sun attend about the Image of *Mars*; but the far greater part place themſelves before the Gates of the Temple, with Clubs in their Hands; while other Men who have devoted themſelves to this Service, and frequently amount to above a thouſand, arm'd in like manner, aſſemble together in a Place oppoſite to them. The Image of the God, which is kept in a little Tabernacle of Wood gilded with Gold, is brought on the Eve of the Feſtival, and plac'd within another; and thoſe few who are appointed to attend, draw both the Tabernacle and the Image to the Temple on a Chariot of four Wheels. But the Prieſts, who ſtand at the Entrance, refuſing to give them Admittance, the Votaries, in Duty to the God, begin to ſtrike with their Clubs, and an obſtinate Combat enſues, both ſides dealing their Blows chiefly on the Head: So that, as I conjecture, many die of the Wounds they receive, though the Ægyptians affirm the contrary. Theſe Rites, if we may believe the Inhabitants, were inſtituted for the following Cauſe. They ſay that *Mars*

was educated abroad, till he attain'd to the Age of a Man; when coming home to viſit his Mother, who dwelt in this ſacred Place, he was denied Entrance by her Servants, and driven away by Violence; becauſe they had never ſeen him before. That *Mars* retiring to another City, collected a good number of Men, and returning, fell upon the Servants, and enter'd by Force; in Commemoration of which Action, this Combat is repreſented on his Feſtival. The Ægyptians were likewiſe the firſt who ordain'd, that Men ſhould abſtain from Women in the Temples; and not enter any ſacred Place without waſhing, after the Uſe of a Woman. For almoſt all other Nations, except the Ægyptians and Grecians, neither ſcruple to perform that Action in Temples, nor to go thither unwaſh'd after they have had the Company of Women; thinking Mankind to be like other Animals. And becauſe they frequently ſee Beaſts and Birds coupling together in Groves and Temples, they imagine that if this Action were diſagreeable to God, thoſe Creatures would abſtain in thoſe Places. But I cannot approve the Concluſion they draw from this Obſervation.

THE Ægyptians are beyond meaſure ſuperſtitious in all things concerning Religion; eſpecially in the enſuing Particulars. *Ægypt*, tho' adjoining to *Libya*, abounds not in Variety of Beaſts; yet all thoſe they have, both wild and tame, are accounted ſacred. But if I ſhould take upon me to give the Reaſons of this Opinion, I muſt enter into a long Diſcourſe of divine things, which I avoid with all poſſible Care; having hitherto ſaid nothing of that kind, unleſs

unleſs in a tranſient manner, and compell'd by the force of Neceſſity. Their Cuſtoms, however, relating to the Beaſts, are theſe. In the firſt place, Men and Women have the Care of feeding and bringing up all domeſtick Animals by themſelves; and the Son ſucceeds the Father in this Office. All the Inhabitants of the Cities offer their Prayers to theſe, and to the Deities to which they are ſacred, with the following Ceremonies. They ſhave the Heads of their Children, either intirely, or one half, or at leaſt a third Part, and putting the Hair into one Scale, and Money into the other, when the Silver carries the Balance they give it to the Keeper of the Animals, who for that Reward provides them with Fiſh cut in pieces, which is their uſual Food. If any Perſon kills one of theſe Beaſts voluntarily, he is puniſh'd with Death; if involuntarily, his Puniſhment is referr'd to the Diſcretion of the Prieſts. But if a Man kill either a Hawk or an Ibis, whether with Deſign or not, he muſt die without Mercy. The Beaſts that are brought up among Men are many, and would be much more numerous, if ſome Accidents ſhould not frequently happen to the Cats. For when the Females have brought their Kitlins, they care no longer for the Male, and obſtinately refuſe to be cover'd; which the Male perceiving, contrives this Artifice: He waits an Opportunity to rob the Female of her Young, and having done ſo, kills them all, but abſtains from eating their Fleſh. The Female ſeeing herſelf depriv'd of her Kitlins, and being very deſirous of more, begins again to follow the Male; for this Creature is exceedingly fond of having Young. But when a Houſe

Houſe takes Fire, the manner of this Animal is very ſurprizing. For though the Ægyptians ſtanding at a Diſtance, neglect the Progreſs of the Flames, and take much greater Care to preſerve the Cats than the Houſe; yet, either by creeping ſlily along the Ground, or leaping over the Heads of the Men, the Cats for the moſt part find a way to throw themſelves into the Fire; and on theſe Occaſions great Lamentations are heard among the Ægyptians. In whatever Houſe a Cat dies a natural Death, all the Family ſhave their Eyebrows; and if a Dog die, they ſhave the whole Body. All dead Cats are carried to certain ſacred Houſes, where being put into a Brine, they are afterwards buried in the City of *Bubaſtis.* Bitches are laid in conſecrated Coffins, and interr'd in the Cities where they die, and ſo are hunting Dogs; but Hawks and the venomous Mole are carried to the City of *Butus.* The Bears, which are few in number, and Wolves, no bigger than Foxes, are buried in the Places where they are found dead. As for the Crocodiles, they are of a ſtrange Nature. They eat nothing during the four coldeſt Months; and though they have four Feet, yet they equally frequent the Water and the Land. They lay their Eggs, and hatch their Young on dry Ground; ſtaying aſhore the greater part of the Day. But they go down to the River by Night, becauſe the Water is then warmer than the Air and Dews. No living thing, that we know, grows to ſo vaſt a Size, from ſo ſmall a Beginning. For their Eggs are little bigger than thoſe of a Gooſe, and their Young, at the firſt Appearance, proportionable: But they afterwards grow

to

to the Length of ſeventeen Cubits and more. They have the Eyes and Tuſhes of a Hog, with great Teeth, ſuitable to the reſt of the Body. Of all Animals, theſe alone have no Tongue, and move the upper Jaw only when they eat; the lower never. They have Claws exceedingly ſtrong, and a ſcaly Hide, impenetrable. The Crocodile is blind in the Water, but very quick-ſighted by Land: And becauſe he lives for the moſt part in the River, his Mouth is generally infeſted with Leaches: So that though all other Beaſts and Birds equally avoid him; yet he lives in Peace with the Trochilus, becauſe he receives a beneficial Service from that Bird. For when the Crocodile goes out of the Water, and opens his Mouth, which he does moſt commonly towards the South, the Trochilus enters and devours the Leaches; with which good Office the Crocodile is ſo well pleas'd, that he never hurts him. One part of the Ægyptians eſteem the Crocodile ſacred; but others purſue him to Death as a common Enemy. Thoſe who inhabit the Country of *Thebes*, and that adjoining to the Lake of *Mœris*, pay a peculiar Veneration to him. For each of theſe People train up a Crocodile to be ſo tame as to endure the Hand, putting Strings of Jewels or Gold through his Ears, and a Chain on his Fore-feet. Whilſt he lives he is us'd with great Reſpect, and fed with conſecrated Proviſions at the publick Charge: And when he is dead, he is preſerv'd in Salt and buried in a ſacred Coffin. But the Inhabitants of *Elephantis* are ſo far from accounting the Crocodile ſacred, that they eat his Fleſh. The Ægyptian Name of this Animal is Champſe:

For the Ionians were the firſt who call'd them Crocodiles; becauſe they thought them to be like certain Creatures they find in Hedges, and call by that Name. The ways of taking the Crocodile are various; but I ſhall only deſcribe that which to me ſeems moſt remarkable. They faſten the Chine of a Hog to an Iron Hook, which they let down into the River, beating a living Pig on the Shore at the ſame time. The Crocodile hearing the Noiſe, and making that way, meets with the Chine; which he devours, and is drawn to Land: Where when he arrives, they preſently throw Dirt in his Eyes, and by that means do what they will with him, which otherwiſe would be difficult. The Water-Horſe is eſteem'd ſacred by the Inhabitants of *Papremis*, though in no other part of *Ægypt*. He is a Quadruped with divided Feet, and Hoofs like a Bull: His Noſe is ſhort and retorted; but his Mane, Tail, and Voice, reſemble thoſe of a Horſe, and his Teeth grow out in the manner of Tuſhes. He is equal in Bigneſs to the largeſt Bull; and his Skin is ſo thick, that Darts are cut out of the Hide. A Water-Snake call'd Enhydris is likewiſe ſeen in the River; which, with the Eel and ſcaly Lepidotus, are in a peculiar manner ſacred to the *Nile*, as the Vulpanſer is among the Birds. The Phœnix is another ſacred Bird, which I have never ſeen except in Effigy. He rarely appears in *Ægypt*; once only in five hundred Years, immediately after the Death of his Father, as the Heliopolitans affirm. If the Painters deſcribe him truly, his Feathers repreſent a Mixture of Crimſon and Gold; and he reſembles the Eagle in Form and Proportion. They ſay he

he comes from *Arabia*; and bringing the Body of his Father embalm'd, buries him in the Temple of the Sun. The manner of his Performance, which I think incredible, they relate thus. Firſt he moulds as great a Quantity of Myrrh into the Shape of an Egg, as he is well able to carry; and after having try'd the Weight, he diſbowels the Egg, and puts his Father into the hollow Space: When he has done this, and adjuſted the Weight to his Strength, he ſtops the Aperture with more Myrrh, and carries the whole Maſs to the Temple of the Sun in *Ægypt*. Such is the Account they give of the Phœnix. In the Country of *Thebes* a ſmall kind of Serpent is found, eſteem'd ſacred by the Ægyptians, having Horns growing on the top of the Head, and no way hurtful to Men. When any of theſe Serpents die, they are buried in the Temple of *Jupiter*, becauſe they are thought to belong to that God. Having heard that in a Part of *Arabia*, ſituate a little beyond the City of *Butus*, I might learn ſomething concerning the flying Serpents, I went thither alſo; and ſaw there an incredible Quantity of their Bones, amaſs'd in many Heaps, of different bigneſs, ſome greater and others leſs. The Entrance into this Plain, which lies level with *Ægypt*, is by a narrow Paſſage between the Mountains; and to this Place the Inhabitants ſay, the flying Serpents advance in the beginning of every Spring; but are prevented by the Ibis from proceeding farther, and deſtroy'd in the Chops of the Hills; for which Service the Ibis is highly reverenc'd by the Ægyptians, as both they and the Arabians acknowledge. This Bird is, in Colour, of the deepeſt Black, and in

Bigneſs equal to a Heron: His Beak is crooked, and his Legs like thoſe of a Stork. This is the Form of the black Ibis, which kills the Serpents. Another ſort of Ibis, more commonly ſeen by Men, has white Feathers on every part of his Body, except the Head, Neck, and Extremities of the Wings and Tail; which are of as deep a Black as thoſe of the other kind: But his Head and Neck are not ſo big. The Serpent is in Shape like the Water-Snake; but his Wings are deſtitute of Feathers, and ſmooth like thoſe of a Bat. And here I leave this Diſcourſe concerning ſacred Animals.

The Ægyptians, who inhabit thoſe Parts of *Ægypt*, which are ſow'd with Corn, are of all Nations I ever ſaw the greateſt Reaſoners about the Monuments of Antiquity, and Actions of Mankind. Their Manner of Life is this: They purge themſelves every Month, three Days ſucceſſively, by Vomits and Glyſters, in order to preſerve Health; ſuppoſing that all Diſeaſes among Men proceed from the Food they uſe. For otherwiſe, the Ægyptians are by Nature the moſt healthy People of the World, the Libyans only excepted; which, as I conjecture, is to be attributed to the Regularity of the Seaſons, and Conſtancy of the Weather, moſt Diſtempers beginning upon ſome Alteration in the Temperature of the Air. They make their Bread of Olyra, and call it by the Name of Colleſtis; but their Wine is made of Barley, becauſe they have no Vines in that Country. They eat Fiſh, both pickled and dried in the Sun; together with Quails, Ducks, and ſmaller Birds, preſerv'd in Salt, without any other Preparation. Whatever elſe has any Reſem-

Reſemblance to Birds or Fiſhes, except ſuch as they account ſacred, is eaten without Scruple, either boil'd or roaſted. At their principal Feaſts, when they begin to taſte the Wine after Supper, a Perſon appointed to that End, carries about in a Coffin the Image of a dead Man, carv'd in Wood, and repreſenting the Original in Colour and Shape. Theſe Images, which are always of one, and ſometimes of two Cubits in Length, are carried round all the Company, and theſe Words pronounc'd to every one diſtinctly, "Look upon this: Then drink "and rejoice; for thou ſhalt be as this is." Theſe, and all other Uſages deriv'd from their Anceſtors, they obſerve; but will not encreaſe their Number by new Additions. Among other memorable Cuſtoms, they ſing the Song of *Linus*, like that which is ſung by the Phœnicians, Cyprians and other Nations, who vary the Name according to the different Languages they ſpeak. But the Perſon they honour in this Song, is evidently the ſame that the Grecians celebrate. And as I confeſs my Surprize at many things I found among the Ægyptians, ſo I more particularly wonder, whence they had this Knowledge of *Linus*; becauſe they ſeem to have celebrated him from time immemorial. The Ægyptians call him by the Name of *Maneros*; and ſay, he was the only Son of the firſt of their Kings; but happening to die by an untimely Death in the Flower of his Age, he is lamented by the Ægyptians in this Mourning Song; which is the only Compoſition of the kind us'd in *Ægypt*.

In one Particular, the Ægyptian manner is like that of the Lacedemonians only among all the Grecians: For the young Men riſe up from their Seats, and retire out of the way, at the Approach of thoſe who are of elder Years; which is not practis'd in any other Nation of *Greece*. When the Ægyptians ſalute one another in publick, they bow the Body reciprocally, and carry their Hands to each others Knee. They wear a linen Tunick border'd at the bottom with Fringes, and a Cloak of white woollen Cloth over it; but to enter into any Temple with this Garment, or to be buried in any thing made of Wool, is accounted profane. This Cuſtom is obſerv'd by thoſe who are initiated in the Rites of *Orpheus* and *Bacchus*; which were borrow'd from the Ægyptians and *Pythagoras*. For among them alſo, to interr the Dead in woollen Garments is accounted irreligious, and certain myſterious Reaſons are alledg'd to juſtify their Opinion.

The Ægyptians were alſo the Inventers of divers other things. They aſſign'd each Month and Day to ſome particular God; obſerving the time of Mens Nativity; predicting what Fortune they ſhall have, how they ſhall die, and what kind of Perſons they ſhall be. All which the Grecian Poets have made uſe of in their Poems. Prodigies abound more in *Ægypt*, than in all the reſt of the World; and, as often as they happen, are deſcrib'd in Writing with their Conſequences; which Accounts they carefully preſerve, out of an Opinion, that if the like happen at another time, the Event will be the ſame. Predictions are not deliver'd by any human Being; but only by ſome of the Gods.

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For *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* have their ſeveral Oracles. Yet that which they reverence above all others, is the Oracle of *Latona* in the City of *Butus*. They are not all adminiſtred in the ſame manner, but differently.

In theſe Countries the Art of Phyſick is diſtributed into ſeveral diſtinct Parts, and every Phyſician applies himſelf wholly to the Cure of one Diſeaſe only, no Man ever pretending to more: By which means all Places abound with Phyſicians; ſome profeſſing to cure the Eyes, others the Head, Teeth, or Parts about the Belly, whilſt others take upon them the Care of internal Diſtempers. Their manner of mourning for the Dead, and their Cuſtoms relating to Funerals, are theſe. When a Man of any Conſideration dies, all the Female Sex of that Family beſmear their Heads and Faces with Dirt; and leaving the Body at home, march, attended by all their Relations of that Sex, through the Streets of the City, with naked Breaſts, and Girdles tied about the Waſte, beating themſelves as they go: While the Men, on their Part, forming another Company, gird and beat themſelves in like manner. When this Office is perform'd, they go to thoſe who are appointed to exerciſe the Trade of Embalming; and as ſoon as the dead Body is brought, the Embalmers ſhewing ſeveral Models made of Wood and painted, aſk them which ſort they would have. One of theſe Models is finiſh'd with the greateſt Care, and call'd by a Name which I am not permitted to diſcover: The ſecond is of an inferior ſort and leſs Value; and the third is the meaneſt of all. When thoſe who are concern'd,

have concluded an Agreement, they return home, and the Artiſts fall immediately to work in this manner. Firſt they draw out the Brains through the Noſtrils, with a crooked Inſtrument of Iron; and infuſe certain Medicaments into the vacant Space: Then they open the Belly with an Æthiopian Knife made of a ſharpned Stone, and take out the Bowels; to which, after they are cleans'd and waſh'd in Palm Wine, they add a ſufficient Quantity of odoriferous Drugs. When this is done, and the Belly fill'd with pounded Myrrh, Caſſia and other Odours, Frankincenſe excepted, they ſew all up again, and lay the Body in Nitre for ſeventy Days, which is the longeſt time allow'd. At the Expiration of this Term, they waſh the whole Body, and binding Fillets of Silk round every part, cover it with Gums, which the Ægyptians commonly uſe inſtead of Glue. All being thus finiſh'd, the Relations of the Dead receive the Body, and place it in a Frame of Wood, ſhap'd in the Figure of a Man, which they ſet upright againſt the Wall of the Edifice reſerv'd to that End. And this is the moſt coſtly way of preſerving the Dead. Thoſe who to avoid ſo great Expence, will be contented with a more common Preparation, are ſerv'd in the following manner. They fill Syringes with Oil of Cedar, which they inject by the common way, without cutting the Belly, or taking out the Bowels; and after the Body has been laid in Nitre during ſo many Days as I mention'd before, the Oil of Cedar is let out by the Fundament, and by a peculiar Virtue brings away all the Guts and Vitals ſhrunk and putrified, the Nitre having in all this time conſum'd the Fleſh, and left nothing remaining except

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the Skin and the Bones. When this is done, they deliver the Body without any farther Operation. The third and laſt manner of preſerving the Dead, uſed only for the poorer ſort, is perform'd by the Injection of certain Liquors to cleanſe the Bowels, and laying the Body in Nitre for ſeventy Days; after which they deliver it to be carried away by the Perſons concern'd. The Wives of conſiderable Perſons, and all Women who have been beautiful, and dear to their Relations, are not deliver'd to the Embalmers preſently after Death, but kept at home three or four Days before they are carried out, in order to prevent thoſe Artificers from abuſing the Bodies of ſuch Perſons; one of them having been formerly accus'd of this Crime by his Companion. If any Ægyptian, or even a Stranger, be found kill'd by a Crocodile, or drown'd in the River, wherever the Body comes aſhore, the Inhabitants are by Law compell'd to pay all the Charges of Embalming, and placing it among the conſecrated Monuments, adjuſted in the moſt coſtly manner. For none of his Friends, or Relations, or any other, may touch his Body, except the Prieſts of the *Nile*, who bury him with their own Hands, as ſomething more than human. They utterly reject the Grecian Cuſtoms; and, to ſay all at once, will not receive the Uſages of any other People. Which Maxim is almoſt general among the Ægyptians.

But the City of *Chemmis*, ſtanding in the Province of *Thebes*, not far from *Nea*, has a Temple of a quadrangular Form dedicated to *Perſeus* the Son of *Danae*. This Fabrick is ſurrounded with Palm-Trees, and adorn'd with a ſpacious

ſpacious Portico of Stone, on which two vaſt Statues, of Stone likewiſe, are erected. In a Chapel built within the Limits of the conſecrated Ground, an Image of *Perſeus* is plac'd; where, the Inhabitants affirm, the Hero frequently appears riſing out of the Earth, as he often does in other parts of the Temple; that they have one of the Sandals he wore, which is two Cubits in length; and that after his Appearance, a plentiful Year always enſues in *Ægypt*. Theſe things they ſay; and have inſtituted all manner of Gymnick Exerciſes to the Honour of *Perſeus*, intirely agreeing with thoſe us'd in *Greece*, rewarding the victorious with Cattle, Apparel, and Skins. When I enquir'd what might be the Reaſon that *Perſeus* appear'd only to them, and why they differ'd from the reſt of *Ægypt* in appointing theſe Gymnick Exerciſes; they anſwer'd, that *Perſeus* was deſcended of their Blood. For, ſaid they, *Danaus* and *Lynceus* were both Chemmites, and ſail'd together into *Greece*; enumerating the ſeveral Generations down to *Perſeus*; who paſſing through *Ægypt*, in order to fetch the Gorgon's Head from *Libya*, (as the Grecians likewiſe acknowledge) arriv'd in this Country, and having formerly heard the Name of *Chemmis* from his Mother, own'd his Relations, and by his Command theſe Gymnick Exerciſes were firſt inſtituted. This Opinion is receiv'd by the Ægyptians that inhabit above the Moraſſes; but thoſe who live in the Fenny Parts, are conformable in Manners to the reſt of *Ægypt*, and as in other things, ſo particularly in this, that each Man has no more than one Wife, like the Grecians. With reſpect to their Food, they have been the Inventers of

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divers ſorts. For when the River ſwells and overflows the Plains, great Numbers of Lilies, which the Ægyptians call Lotus, ſhoot up thro' the Water. Theſe they cut down, and after they are dried in the Sun, take out the Heart of the Plant; which reſembling the Pulp of a Meakin, they mould into a Paſte and bake as Bread. They likewiſe eat the Root of the Lotus, which is round, and equal to an Apple in Bigneſs. Another Lily grows in the ſame Places, much like to a Roſe, with a certain Fruit found at the Foot of the Stem, in Form not unlike a Waſp's Neſt, and cover'd with a Pellicule containing divers Kernels of the Size of an Olive Stone, which are eaten either tender or dried. The Byblus they annually gather in the Fens, and divide into two Parts; the Head is reſerv'd for other Uſes, but the lower Part being of a Cubit in Length, is eaten and publickly ſold. When any one is deſirous to eat theſe Stems dreſs'd in the beſt Manner, he ſtews them in a clean Pan. Some among theſe People live altogether upon Fiſh, which they diſbowel and dry in the Sun, without any farther dreſſing.

Fishes that are gregarious, and ſwim in Company, ſeldom breed in the River; but when the Deſire of ingendring ſeizes them, leave the Waters they frequent, and drive out in Shoals to the Sea, the Males leading the Way, and ſcattering their Spawn upon the Surface. This the Females ſwallow as they come up, and are thus impregnated. When they find themſelves full, they return to their accuſtom'd Haunts; tho' not under the Conduct of the Males, but of the Females; which in their Way home do

as the Males did in their Paſſage outwards. For they eject their Eggs like ſmall Grains of Millet, which the Males that follow devour; yet ſuch as remain undevour'd, are ſometimes nouriſh'd and become Fiſh. If any of theſe Fiſh happen to be taken in their Paſſage towards the Sea, they are found bruis'd on the left ſide of the Head; if in their Return, on the right: Becauſe they ſwim outwards leaning towards the Land on the left ſide, and when they return keep ſo cloſe to the Shore, in fear of being carried down by the Stream, that they bruiſe themſelves frequently on the Bank. When the *Nile* begins to overflow, the hollow Vales and Moraſſes that lie near the River, are the firſt that are fill'd by the Inundation, and immediately ſwarm with infinite Numbers of ſmall Fiſhes; the Reaſon of which, as I conjecture, is this: Whilſt the annual Inundation of the *Nile* is retreating back, the Fiſhes lay their Eggs on the Slime, and go off with the laſt of the Waters; and when the River returns to overflow the ſame Places again after the Revolution of a Year, theſe Fiſhes are immediately produc'd from thoſe Eggs.

The Ægyptians who inhabit about the Fens uſe an Oil call'd *Kiki*, drawn from the Fruit of the Sillicyprian Shrub, which they ſow upon the Borders of Rivers and Lakes. This Plant grows wild in *Greece*; but is ſow'd in *Ægypt*, and bears great Abundance of Fruit, tho' of an ill Scent. Some bruiſe it in a Preſs, and ſqueeze out the Oil; others put it into Pans which they ſet on the Fire, and by that means extract the Juice. The Liquor is unctuous, and no leſs uſeful in Lamps than other Oil; but the Odour is ſtrong

and diſagreeable. Theſe Parts are much infeſted with Gnats, and therefore the Inhabitants have contriv'd to defend themſelves from that Inſect by the following Means. Thoſe who live above the Marſhes go up to take their Reſt in Towers built to that End; becauſe the Gnats are prevented by the Winds from mounting ſo high: And thoſe who inhabit the lower Parts, uſe this Artifice inſtead of ſuch Towers. Every Man has a Net, which ſerves him by Day to take Fiſh, and at Night to defend the Place where he ſleeps; for if he ſhould wrap himſelf up either in his Clothes or any kind of Linen, the Gnats would not fail to bite; but never attempt to paſs the Net. Their Ships of Burden are made of the Acantha, which in ſhape reſembles the Cyrænean Lotus, and diſtils a ſort of Gum. From this Tree they cut Timber of about two Cubits ſquare, in the ſhape of Tyles, and faſten theſe Planks together with many long Bands, which when they have well compacted in this manner, they erect the Benches for the Rowers. For they uſe no kind of Ribs or arch'd Timber in their Work, but bend the Joints of the Inſide with Ropes; having only one Rudder, which paſſes quite thro' the Planks of the Ship, with a Maſt of Acantha, and Sails of Byblus. Theſe Veſſels are altogether unfit to mount the River againſt the Stream, and therefore are always drawn up, unleſs the Wind prove very freſh and favourable. But when they go with the Current, they faſten a Hurdle of Tamaris with a Rope to the Prow of the Veſſel. This Hurdle is ſtrengthen'd with Bands of Reeds, and ſo let down into the Water. They have likewiſe a Stone, pierc'd thro' the middle,

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of about two Talents in weight, which they alſo let down into the River by another Rope made faſt to the Poop; and by this means the Stream bearing hard upon the Hurdle carries down the Ship with great Expedition, whilſt the weight of the Stone balances and keeps it ſteady. Theſe Veſſels are very numerous in thoſe Parts, and ſome of them carry the weight of many thouſand Talents.

When the *Nile* has overflow'd, nothing is ſeen in *Ægypt*, except the Cities, which appear like the Iſlands of the *Ægean Sea*. All the reſt of the Country is cover'd with the Flood, and Veſſels hold not the ſame Courſe as at other Times by the Channel of the River, but thro' the midſt of the Plains. Thoſe who would paſs from *Naucratis* to *Memphis*, leave the common Route, which is by the Pyramids, to ſail by the Point of *Delta* and by the City of *Cercaſora*: And the Paſſage from *Canopus* and the Seat to *Naucratis*, is thro' the Plains, by the Cities of *Anthylla* and *Archandra*. Since *Ægypt* has been under the Dominion of the Perſians, the Revenues of *Anthylla*, which is a conſiderable City, have been always given to the Wife of the Perſon who is entruſted with the Government, for her Expence in Shoes. And the other, as I conjecture, was nam'd *Archandra* by *Danaus*, who married the Daughter of *Archander* of *Pthios*, the Son of *Achæus*. 'Tis poſſible there may have been another *Archander*; but moſt certain that this Name is not Ægyptian.

Having hitherto advanc'd nothing concerning the Ægyptians except what I have either ſeen, or known by Inquiry; I ſhall now proceed to give ſome Account of their Reports

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and Traditions, which yet will be interwoven with divers things that I ſaw. The Prieſts inform'd me, that *Menes*, who was the firſt King of *Ægypt*, by throwing up a Rampart above *Memphis* of about a hundred Stades in length, ſtretching towards the South, dried up that part of the *Nile*, which to his time had paſs'd by the Foot of the Mountain of Sand in *Libya*, and caus'd the Water to run from a certain Angle thro' the Hills by a new Channel: That this Paſſage is diligently preſerv'd in our time, and annually repair'd by the Perſians; becauſe if the River ſhould at any time break thro' the Bank, the whole City would probably be drown'd. They added, that the ſame *Menes*, after he had diverted the courſe of the Water, built the City which to this Day is call'd *Memphis*, within the antient Bed of the River; and indeed this Place is ſituate in one of the narroweſt Streights of *Ægypt*: That, on the North and Weſt Side he caus'd a Lake to be made without the Walls from the River, which paſſes on the Eaſtwardly Part, and founded the magnificent and memorable Temple of *Vulcan* in the ſame City. After this the ſame Prieſts read to me from a Book, the Names of three hundred and thirty Kings who had reign'd after *Menes*. During all which time eighteen were Æthiopians, one Woman, and the reſt Ægyptians. The Woman, like the Queen of *Babylon*, was call'd by the Name of *Nitocris*; and they inform'd me, that after ſhe had receiv'd the Power from the Hands of the Ægyptians, who had ſlain her Brother and immediate Predeceſſor, ſhe reveng'd his Death by the following Artifice. She built a Palace for herſelf, with a ſpacious

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Hall under Ground, which ſeem'd ſtrange to others; but was contriv'd in order to execute the Deſign ſhe had laid. For having invited all thoſe ſhe knew to have been principally concern'd in the Death of her Brother, to a great Feaſt, ſhe let in the River by a private Way, and drown'd them all together; ſhe herſelf eſcaping in the mean time into another Apartment, ſo well ſecur'd with a Rampart of Aſhes as to preſerve her Life. This Account they gave of *Nitocris*. But of the other Kings they ſaid nothing, becauſe they had perform'd no memorable Action; except *Mœris*, who being the laſt of them, built the Portico of *Vulcan*'s Temple, fronting to the Northward, and caus'd a Lake to be made (the Dimenſions of which I ſhall deſcribe hereafter) with Pyramids, which I ſhall alſo mention when I come to ſpeak of the Lake. In a Word, they aſſur'd me he had done theſe great things, and all the reſt nothing. And therefore I ſhall paſs them by, to relate the memorable Actions of a ſucceeding King, whoſe Name was *Seſoſtris*.

The Prieſts affirm'd, that this King was the firſt, who paſſing thro' the Arabian Gulph with a Fleet of long Ships, ſubdued thoſe Nations that inhabit about the *Red Sea*; and continued his Expedition, till certain Sands prevented him from advancing farther: That returning to *Ægypt*, he aſſembled a numerous Army, with which he landed on the Continent, and conquer'd all the Countries where he paſs'd: That wherever he ſubdued any valiant People, fighting ſtrenuouſly to preſerve their Liberty, he erected a Column in that Place, with an Inſcription declaring his own Name and Country, and that he had conquer'd

quer'd them by his Power: But when he ſubdued a Nation either without fighting, or by an eaſy Victory, he caus'd a Pillar and Inſcriptions to be erected, as in the Places where he found the greateſt Reſiſtance, with the Addition of Figures repreſenting the ſecret Part of a Woman, to perpetuate the Memory of their Cowardice. In this manner extending his Conqueſts thro' the Continent, he march'd out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and ſubdued the Scythians and Thracians. For ſo far, and no farther, the Ægyptian Army appears to have penetrated, becauſe their Pillars are to be ſeen in thoſe Countries, and no where beyond them. From thence returning to *Ægypt*, and arriving at the River *Phaſis*, I cannot affirm, whether he appointed part of his Army to inhabit that Country, or whether ſome of his Forces grown uneaſy with the Fatigues of their Expedition, did voluntarily remain in that Region; but the Inhabitants of *Colchis* ſeem to me of Ægyptian Extraction; which I collected rather from my own Experience, than the Information of others. And tho' upon Inquiry I found more evident Marks of this Relation among the Colchians than in *Ægypt*; yet the Ægyptians ſay they believe them to be deſcended from a part of the Army of *Seſoſtris*; which I think probable, becauſe their Complexion is ſwarthy, and their Hair frizled, tho' no certain Proof; for others are ſo likewiſe. But that which weighs moſt with me is, that the Colchians, Ægyptians, and Æthiopians are the only Nations of the World, who from time immemorial have been circumcis'd. For the Phœnicians, and thoſe Syrians that inhabit *Paleſtine*, acknowledge they

receiv'd the Circumciſion from the Ægyptians: As the other Syrians, who poſſeſs the Countries adjacent to the River *Thermodon* and *Parthenion*, with their Neighbours the Macronians, confeſs they very lately learn'd the ſame Cuſtom from the Colchians. And theſe are the only Nations that are circumcis'd, and imitate the Ægyptians in the Uſe of this Ceremony. But whether the Æthiopians had this Uſage from the Ægyptians, or theſe, on the contrary, from the Æthiopians, is a thing too ancient and obſcure for me to determine. Yet I am inclin'd to believe that the Æthiopians took up this Cuſtom by converſing with the Ægyptians; becauſe we ſee that none of thoſe Phœnicians, who have any Commerce with the Grecians, continue to imitate the Ægyptians in this Uſage, of circumciſing their Children. One thing more I ſhall mention, in which the Colchians reſemble the Ægyptians. They alone of all People work their Thread after the manner of *Ægypt*; and the ſame way of Living, as well as the ſame Language, is common to both Nations; tho' the Grecians call the Thread they import from *Colchis*, by the Name of Sardonian, and that which comes from *Ægypt* by the proper Name of the Country.

The Pillars erected by *Seſoſtris* King of *Ægypt* in the Countries he ſubdued, were for the moſt part demoliſh'd: Yet I ſaw ſome of them ſtanding in the Syrian *Paleſtine*, with the Inſcriptions I mention'd before, and the genital Parts of a Woman. Two Images likewiſe of this King, carv'd on Stone, are ſeen in *Ionia*, upon the Ways that lead from *Epheſus* to *Phocæa*, and from *Sardis* to *Smyrna*. His Figure is five Palms

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in height, holding a Bow in one Hand and an Arrow in the other, and arm'd after the Ægyptian and Æthiopian Manner. On a Line drawn from one Shoulder to the other theſe Words are engrav'd in the ſacred Letters of *Ægypt*, *I obtain'd this Region by the Strength of theſe Arms*. The Stone does not diſcover who the Perſon repreſented was, nor from whence he came; and tho' this is well known by other means, yet ſome who have ſeen the Monument, have groſly miſtaken it for an Image of *Memnon*. The Prieſts farther inform'd me, that *Seſoſtris* follow'd by great Numbers of Captives drawn out of the Countries he had conquer'd, landed in his Return at the *Peluſian Daphne*; where his Brother, to whom he had committed the Government of *Ægypt* during his Abſence, deſir'd him to accept the Entertainment of his Houſe for himſelf and Sons; and having prevail'd with the King to ſtay, he caus'd a great quantity of combuſtible Matter to be laid in all the Paſſages, and ſet on fire: That *Seſoſtris* being inform'd of the Danger, and conſulting with his Wife, who had accompany'd him in his Expedition, ſhe advis'd him to take two of his ſix Sons, and extending their Bodies on the Fire, form a kind of Bridge in order to make his Eſcape: That her Counſel was put in Execution, and two of his Sons periſhing in the Flames, he himſelf with all the reſt was preſerved; and afterwards puniſh'd his Brother in an exemplary manner for this Treachery: That as to the multitude of Priſoners he brought with him from his foreign Conqueſts, he employ'd them partly in drawing thoſe immenſe Stones, which are ſeen in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and partly in digging the Ca-

nals of *Ægypt*, which has rendred the Ways impracticable for Horſemen, or any kind of Land-Carriage, whereas before that time they were conſtantly frequented by both: But the Number and different Forms of theſe Aqueducts in a Country, which is altogether level, has made them inacceſſible to either. Yet this was deſign'd by *Seſoſtris*, to the end that thoſe who inhabit the Cities and other Places that lie remote from the River, and have no Rain, might be plentifully ſupplied with Water to drink, out of their own Wells, after the Inundations of the *Nile* are withdrawn: And for this Reaſon, theſe Canals were cut throughout *Ægypt*. They told me alſo that this King made an equal Diviſion of all the Lands in *Ægypt*, and aſſign'd a ſquare Piece of Ground to every Ægyptian, reſerving to himſelf a certain Rent, which he commanded them to pay annually; yet if the River happen'd to diminiſh any Man's Portion, he preſently went with his Complaint to the King, who always deputed certain Inſpectors to meaſure the Remainder of the Land, and adjuſt the Payment in Proportion to the Loſs. Hence Geometry, as I conjecture, had its beginning, and was afterwards introduc'd among the Grecians. But Aſtronomy, with the Uſe of the Gnomon, and the Diviſion of the Day into twelve Parts, they receiv'd from the Babylonians: *Seſoſtris* alone of all the Ægyptian Kings was Maſter of *Æthiopia*; and for a Monument of his Poſſeſſion, left divers Statues of Stone erected at the Entrance of *Vulcan*'s Temple. Two of theſe, repreſenting himſelf and his Wife, are thirty Cubits in height; and four other Statues repreſenting his four Sons are

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of twenty Cubits each. Many Ages after, when the Statue of *Darius* the Perſian was brought thither, the Prieſt of *Vulcan* would not ſuffer it to be plac'd above that of *Seſoſtris*, ſaying openly, that the Actions of the Perſian were not ſo illuſtrious as thoſe of the Ægyptian King. For beſides the Conqueſt of *Scythia*, his other Acquiſitions were equal to thoſe of *Darius*, who could not ſubdue the Scythians: And to prefer a Man before *Seſoſtris*, who had not ſurpaſs'd him in glorious Actions, would be unjuſt. All which was forgiven by *Darius*.

AFTER the Death of *Seſoſtris*, his Son *Pheron* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. But he undertook no military Expedition, and became blind by this Accident: At a Time when the *Nile* had overflow'd in an extraordinary manner, to the height of more than eighteen Cubits above the Surface of the Earth, a great Storm of Wind aroſe, and put the Waters into a violent Agitation. Upon this the King, in an inſolent Humour, took a Javelin in his Hand, and having thrown it among the rolling Billows, was preſently ſeiz'd with a Pain in his Eyes, which made him blind for ten Years. In the eleventh Year, a Meſſage was brought from the Oracle of *Butus*, importing, that the time of his Puniſhment was expir'd, and he ſhould recover his Sight, if he would waſh his Eyes with the Urine of a Woman, who had never accompanied with any other Man than her own Huſband. In Obedience to the Oracle, he firſt tried the Urine of his own Wife; but finding no Relief, made uſe of that of others indifferently, till at laſt his Sight was reſtor'd. Upon which he or-

der'd all thoſe Women whoſe Urine he had unſucceſsfully tried, to be ſent to a Place call'd *Erythrebolus*, from the redneſs of the Soil, where he caus'd them to be burnt, together with the City; and married the Woman by whoſe means he had been cur'd of his Blindneſs. After this, he dedicated many conſiderable Offerings in all the Temples, to perpetuate the Memory of his Recovery; but the moſt memorable were two magnificent Obeliſks which he erected in the Temple of the Sun, each of one Stone only, a hundred Cubits in height, and eight Cubits in breadth. The Prieſts farther inform'd me, that a Native of *Memphis*, who in the Grecian Language would be nam'd *Proteus*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and is honour'd in a ſtately Temple, which is ſtill ſeen at *Memphis*, richly adorn'd, and ſtanding on the North Side of that dedicated to *Vulcan*. The Parts adjacent to the Temple are inhabited by Phœnicians of *Tyre*, and all that Region is call'd the *Tyrian Camp*. In this Temple is a Chapel dedicated to *Venus the Stranger*, which I conjecture to be meant of *Helena* the Daughter of *Tyndarus*, who, as I have heard, went under that Name, and reſided ſome time in the Court of *Proteus*. For of all the Temples that are dedicated to the other *Venus*, not one is known by this Name. And indeed, when I enquir'd of the Prieſts concerning *Helena*, they told me, that after *Alexander* had carried her off from *Sparta*; he met with a violent Storm in his Return homewards, which drove him out of the Ægean into the Ægyptian Sea; and ſtill continuing with great Fury, forc'd him to put in at *Tarichea*, a Place ſituate in the Canopean Mouth of the River *Nile*. On that

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Shore ſtood a Temple of *Hercules*, which remains to this Day; whither, if the Servant of any Perſon flies, and devoting himſelf to the God, takes upon him certain ſacred Marks, he may not be forc'd from thence under any Pretext: And this Privilege has been preſerv'd without Violation to our Time. When therefore the Slaves of *Alexander* had heard of this Immunity, they fled to the Temple, and as Suppliants putting themſelves under the Protection of *Hercules*, accus'd their Maſter of the Rape of *Helena*, omitting nothing that might aggravate the Injury he had done to *Menelaus*. Theſe Complaints were made in the Preſence of the Prieſts, and before the Governor of that Province, whoſe Name was *Thonis*. Upon which the Governor immediately diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *Proteus*, at *Memphis*, with Orders to inform him, "That a certain Stranger, born "at *Troy*, was arriv'd, who had been guilty of "a moſt nefarious Action in *Greece*; having ſe-"duc'd the Wife of his Hoſt, and carried her "away with immenſe Riches: That a violent "Tempeſt had forc'd him to land in *Ægypt*; "and that therefore the King would deter-"mine, whether he ſhould be permitted to "depart with Impunity, or whether he, and "all he had brought with him, ſhould be "ſeiz'd?" In Anſwer to this Meſſage *Proteus* commanded, that the Man, whoever he was, that had ſo injuriouſly violated the Rights of Hoſpitality, ſhould be ſent to him, that he might hear what he had to ſay for himſelf. Which Anſwer being brought to *Thonis*, he ſeiz'd the Perſon of *Alexander*; ſecur'd his Ships, and ſent him to *Memphis*, with *Helena*, his

Riches, and all his Slaves. When they arriv'd there, and *Proteus* had aſk'd *Alexander*, who he was, and whence he came, he gave him an Account of his Family, Country, Name, and to what Parts he was bound. But the King proceeding to demand, in what Place he had met with *Helena*, he began to ſhift, and to deliver his Anſwer in ambiguous Words; till the fugitive Suppliants openly accus'd him, and diſcover'd all the Circumſtances of his Crime. Then *Proteus* ſaid, "If I were not very unwilling to "put Strangers to Death, forc'd by the Winds "to take Refuge in my Territories, I would "avenge the Injuries thou haſt done to that "Grecian: Thou haſt ſhewn thyſelf the baſeſt "of Men, in violating the ſacred Laws of Hoſ-"pitality, and ſeducing the Wife of one, who "entertain'd thee in his Houſe with Kindneſs; "and, as if it had not been enough to debauch "his Wife, thou haſt brought her away with "thee; and to compleat thy Crime, haſt robb'd "him of his Treaſures: Therefore, though I "cannot perſuade myſelf to kill a Stranger, yet "I will not ſuffer thee to carry away the Wo-"man, or the Riches thou haſt plunder'd; but "ſhall preſerve both, in order to reſtore them "to thy injur'd Hoſt, upon his Demand; com-"manding thee and all thy Companions to de-"part out of my Kingdom within three Days, "under Pain of being treated as Enemies." In this manner the Prieſts reported the Arrival of *Helena* in *Ægypt*. And I am of Opinion, that *Homer* had heard the ſame Relation; but not thinking it proper to be inſerted in an Epick Poem with theſe Circumſtances, he alter'd the Relation, though he has plainly ſhewn he was

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not ignorant of what I have mention'd; as is ſufficiently manifeſt in his *Iliad*, and never retracted in any part of that Work. For deſcribing the Voyages of *Alexander*, he ſhews, that after he had been driven through divers Seas, he arriv'd at *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*; which is prov'd by theſe Verſes, inſerted in the Deſcription of *Diomedes*'s Valour.

There Garments lay, in various Colours wrought,
The Work of Sidon's *Dames, from* Sidon *brought*
By Godlike Paris, *when he plow'd the Seas,*
And high-born Helen *wafted o'er from* Greece.

In the *Odyſſes* alſo the following Lines are read.

Jove's *Daughter had an Antidote in ſtore,*
Which ſhe receiv'd from Polydamne's *Hand,*
Wife to th' Ægyptian Thonis: *For that Soil*
Abounds no leſs with good than noxious Plants.

To which may be added theſe Words of *Menelaus* to *Telemachus*.

The Gods detain'd me on th' Ægyptian Shore,
Becauſe I fail'd whole Hecatombs to pay,
Which they expected.

The Tenor of theſe Verſes ſufficiently ſhews, that *Homer* was not ignorant of *Alexander*'s Arrival in *Ægypt*. For the Coaſt of *Syria* lies next adjoining to that of *Ægypt*, and the Phœnicians of *Sidon* are Inhabitants of *Syria*. So that theſe Lines, together with the Mention of this Region, plainly prove that *Homer* was not the Author of the *Cyprian Verſes*, but ſome other

Perſon. For they affirm, that when *Alexander* brought away *Helena* from *Sparta*, he had both Wind and Weather ſo favourable, that he arriv'd at *Troy* in three Days, whereas *Homer* in his *Iliad* ſays he was driven from one Place to another. And ſo I take my leave of him and the *Cyprian Verſes*.

When I aſk'd the Prieſts whether the Account of the Trojan War, as related by the Grecians, was not an impertinent Story, they aſſur'd me they were inform'd by *Menelaus* himſelf, that after the Rape of *Helena*, the Grecians reſolving to aſſiſt him, form'd a numerous Army, and landed in *Teucris*: That upon their landing they mark'd out and fortified a Camp, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Ilium*, of which Embaſſy *Menelaus* was one: That theſe Ambaſſadors went to the City, and demanded *Helena*, with all the Treaſures *Alexander* had ſtolen, and Satisfaction for the Injuries done: That the Trojans proteſted and ſwore, both at that time and ſince, that neither *Helena*, nor the Riches they demanded, were in their Power, but in *Ægypt*; and therefore to demand Reſtitution from them, of things that were in the Poſſeſſion of *Proteus* King of *Ægypt*, was unjuſt: That the Grecians taking this Anſwer for a mere Mockery, began the Siege, which they continued till the City was taken: That when they were Maſters of *Troy*, finding the Trojans ſtill perſiſting in their Aſſeverations, and *Helena* no where appearing, they gave Credit to their former Proteſtations, and ſent *Menelaus* to *Ægypt*; where being arriv'd, he ſail'd up to *Memphis*, and having truly related what had paſs'd, was affectionately entertain'd by the King; had his Wife, with all his Treaſures,

ſures, reſtor'd to him without any Injury done to her Perſon; and that notwithſtanding this Kindneſs, *Menelaus* prov'd ungrateful to the Ægyptians: For being long detain'd in *Ægypt* by contrary Winds, he perpetrated a moſt impious Action; taking two Children, Natives of that Country, and opening their Bodies, in order to conſult their Intrails concerning his Departure; which being diſcover'd, and the Inhabitants in Deteſtation of his Cruelty preparing to ſeize him, he ſet ſail with Precipitation, and fled to *Libya*; though what farther Adventures he had they could not tell: Concluding, that they had learnt ſome of theſe Particulars from the Information of others, and were fully aſſur'd of the reſt, becauſe they were done among them. To this Relation of the Prieſts, if I ſhould add my own Opinion concerning *Helena*, I would ſay, that if ſhe had been within the Territories of *Ilium*, doubtleſs the Trojans would have ſurrender'd to the Grecians, either with or without the Conſent of *Alexander*. For certainly *Priamus*, and all thoſe about him, could never be ſo deſperately mad to bring themſelves, with their Children and the whole Kingdom, into the utmoſt Hazard, only that *Alexander* might enjoy *Helena*. But let us ſuppoſe they might take ſuch a Reſolution at firſt; yet after the Slaughter of ſuch vaſt Numbers of Trojans, together with two or three of the King's Sons, or more, if we may believe the Poets, that were kill'd, fighting againſt the Grecians, I cannot forbear to think, that if *Priamus* himſelf had married *Helena*, he would have reſtor'd her to the Achaians, to be deliver'd from ſo great a Calamity. Beſides, *Alexander* not being the

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next Heir to the Crown, could have no Pretence to govern all things during the Life of an aged King: *Hector* was elder than he; rightful Succeſſor to *Priamus*, and much more conſiderable for Valour; and could not with any Decency abet and ſupport the Injuſtice of his Brother; by whoſe means ſo many Evils had already happen'd, and were daily impending over his own Head, and over all the Trojans in general. But indeed *Helena* was not in their Power, though the Grecians would not believe them when they ſpoke the truth; Heaven permitting, as I conjecture, that they ſhould be utterly deſtroy'd, in order to convince Men, that the Gods have great Puniſhments in Reſerve for atrocious Crimes. And thus I have deliver'd my Opinion concerning theſe things.

The Prieſts likewiſe inform'd me, that upon the Death of *Proteus*, *Rampſinitus* ſucceeded him, and for a Monument of his Magnificence, added to the Temple of *Vulcan* a Portico fronting to the Weſt, and erected two Statues before this Building, of twenty five Cubits each. One of theſe looks to the Northward, and is adored by the Ægyptians under the Name of *Summer*: The other facing the South, is altogether neglected, and goes by the Name of *Winter*. *Rampſinitus* heap'd together a far greater Quantity of Silver than any of the ſucceeding Kings are ſaid to have poſſeſs'd; and being deſirous to ſecure his Treaſures, built an Apartment of Stone, which had one Wall on the Outſide of the Palace. This Situation the Architect made uſe of to deceive the King, and plac'd one of the Stones in ſo looſe a manner, that a Man might eaſily take it out. Some time after the Building

ing was finiſh'd, and the King had lodg'd his Riches in the Place, the Architect lying upon his Death-bed, call'd his two Sons, and acquainted them, that he had contriv'd the King's Treaſury in ſuch a manner, that they might always furniſh themſelves with the means of living plentifully; directing them to the Place, and explaining all the Particulars they were to obſerve, in taking out and putting in the Stone: In a Word, he told them, if they would follow his Inſtructions, they might be Treaſurers of all the King's Riches. The Sons waited not long after the Death of their Father to put his Counſel in Execution, and went by Night to the Palace; where having found the Place, they remov'd the Stone without Difficulty, and carried off a great Quantity of Silver. *Rampſinitus* entring one Day into the Treaſury, and ſeeing his Heaps much diminiſh'd, fell into a great Surprize; in regard he knew not whom to blame, having found all entire, and the Apartment, in Appearance, well ſecur'd. But after the King had two or three times ſucceſſively viſited his Treaſures, and always found them diminiſh'd, he order'd Nets to be made, and ſpread about the Veſſels that contain'd his Money. The Thieves coming as before, one of them enter'd, and going to a Veſſel fill'd with Silver, was preſently taken in the Snare. Finding himſelf in this Extremity, he immediately call'd his Brother, and acquainting him with his Misfortune, deſir'd him to come in, and cut off his Head, leſt the whole Intrigue ſhould be diſcover'd, and neither of them eſcape with Life. The Brother comprehending the Reaſon of his Requeſt, did as he deſir'd, and having put the Stone in its proper Place,

Place, return'd home with the Head. Early in the Morning the King coming to the Treaſury, was not a little aſtoniſh'd to find the Body of the Thief taken in the Net without a Head, and the whole Edifice entire, without the leaſt Sign of any Perſon going out or coming in. In this Perplexity he went away, and commanded the Body to be hang'd on the Wall; appointing a Guard, with ſtrict Orders, if they ſhould ſee any one weeping at the Spectacle, or pitying the Perſon. to bring him immediately before the King. But no ſooner was the Body thus expos'd, than the Mother fell into a great Paſſion, and commanded her ſurviving Son, by any Means he could contrive, to take down and bring away the Corps of his Brother: Threatning, if he refus'd, to go to the King, and let him know that he was the Thief who had robb'd the Treaſury. The Son earneſtly endeavour'd to diſſuade his Mother from her Purpoſe; but finding nothing could prevail, he made ready his Aſſes, and having loaded them with Skins fill'd with Wine, and driven them near the Guards that were appointed to watch the dead Body, he open'd two or three of the Skins, and when he ſaw the Wine running out, ſtruck himſelf upon the Head, and cried out lamentably; as if his Confuſion had been ſo great, that he knew not to which of his Aſſes he ſhould run firſt. The Guards ſeeing ſo much Wine loſt, ran preſently to the Aſſes with Pots in their Hands to receive the Liquor, and make uſe of the preſent Opportunity; which the Man perceiving, feign'd himſelf highly incens'd, and rail'd bitterly againſt the Soldiers. But they, on the contrary, giving him good Words,

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he grew calm again, and pretending to be pacified, led his Asses out of the Way, as if he design'd to secure the rest of his Wine; till at last, falling into a Dialogue of Mirth and Raillery with the Guards, he gave one of the Skins among them. The Soldiers immediately sat down to drink, and taking him by the Hand, desir'd him to do as they did; which he accepting, and finding them fond of his Company, was so liberal of his Wine, that they made themselves drunk, and fell asleep in the Place. By this means he took down his Brother in the dead of Night; and having, in Derision, shav'd all the Guard on the right Cheek, he laid the Body upon one of his Asses, and brought it home to his Mother, according to her Desire. They added, that the King hearing the Body of the Thief had been stolen, was much disturb'd; and resolving, by any Means, to find out the Contriver of this Artifice, form'd a Design, which to me seems incredible; commanding his Daughter to prostitute herself at home to all Comers indifferently, after having first oblig'd every one in particular, to let her know the most subtle, and most wicked Actions of his whole Life; and enjoining her, when any one should discover himself guilty of the Fact relating to the Thief, that she should lay Hands on him, and not suffer him to escape. His Daughter obey'd; and the Thief not ignorant to what End this Contrivance tended, and desirous to elude the King's Design, cut off an Arm from the Body of a Man newly expir'd, and putting it under his Cloak, went to the Daughter of *Rampsinitus*. At his coming, when she ask'd him the same Questions she

had propos'd to others, he anſwer'd, That the moſt wicked Action he ever did, was, to cut off his Brother's Head in the Treaſury; and the moſt ſubtle, was the Artifice he contriv'd to make the Guard drunk, and by that means to carry off the Body. No ſooner had he ſaid this, than ſhe offer'd to lay Hands on him; but he being favour'd by the Night, put the dead Hand into hers; and while ſhe thought ſhe held him faſt, convey'd himſelf away, and ran out of the Houſe. When the King was inform'd of this Event, he was aſtoniſh'd at the Invention and Audaciouſneſs of the Man; and a ſhort time after, caus'd Proclamation to be made in all Places, that he would not only pardon him, but reward him amply, if he would diſcover himſelf. The Thief, in Confidence of this Promiſe, went directly to the Palace; and *Rampſinitus*, in Admiration of his Subtlety, gave him his Daughter in Marriage: Accounting him the moſt knowing of all Men, becauſe he knew more than the Ægyptians, who are wiſer than the reſt of Mankind.

After this, they ſaid, *Rampſinitus* deſcended alive into thoſe Places which the Grecians call *Hades*; where playing at Dice with *Ceres*, he ſometimes won, and other times loſt: That ſhe preſented him, at his Departure, with a Baſin of Gold; and that the Ægyptians celebrate a certain Feſtival, from the Day of his Deſcent to that of his Re-aſcenſion, which I have ſeen them obſerve in my time: But whether that Adventure, or ſome other thing gave Birth to this Solemnity, I cannot determine. However, the Prieſts every Year at that time, cloathing one of their Order in a Cloak woven the

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ſame Day, and covering his Eyes with a Mitre, guide him into the Way that leads towards the Temple of *Ceres*, and then return: Upon which, they ſay, two Wolves come and conduct him to the Temple, twenty Stades diſtant from the City, and afterwards accompany him back to the Place from whence he came. Theſe things are related by the Ægyptians; and if any Man think them credible, he is at Liberty: For me, I am oblig'd to write what I have heard.

THE Ægyptians hold, that the ſovereign Power of the infernal Regions is exercis'd by *Ceres* and *Bacchus*; and were the firſt of all Mankind, who affirm'd the Immortality of Man's Soul; which, they ſay, upon the Death of the Body always enters into ſome other Animal; and paſſing, by a continued Rotation, through the different Kinds of Aerial, Terreſtrial, and Marine Beings, returns again into a human Body, after the Revolution of three thouſand Years. Yet this Opinion divers Grecians have publiſh'd for their own, in theſe and former times; but I ſhall forbear to mention them, though I am not ignorant of their Names. They told me likewiſe, that to the Reign of *Rampſinitus*, Juſtice and good Order were preſerv'd in *Ægypt*, and that the Kingdom flouriſh'd in Plenty: But that *Cheops* who ſucceeded him, was a moſt flagitious Tyrant. For after he had ſhut up all the Temples, and forbidden the Publick Sacrifices, he oppreſs'd the Ægyptians with hard Labour; appointing ſome to receive the Stones that were dug out of the Quarries in the Arabian Mountains, and to draw them down to the *Nile*, in order to be tranſported in Veſſels to the other

Side of that River; and ordering others to convey them from thence towards the Mountain call'd *Libycus*. About a hundred thouſand Men were employ'd in this Labour, ten thouſand every three Months: And ten Years were ſpent in the building of a Bridge, which I think to be a Work little leſs conſiderable than the Pyramid. For that Bridge is five Stades in length; ſixty Foot broad; and in the higheſt part, forty eight Foot in Altitude; all of poliſh'd Stone, and carv'd with the Figures of various Animals. The Pyramid, and the ſubterraneous Vaults, built within the Hill, on which the Pyramids ſtand, were the Labour of twenty Years. Into this Place he convey'd the *Nile*, by a Trench, and form'd a little Iſland in the midſt of the Waters, deſigning to place his Sepulchre on that Ground. This Pyramid is Quadrilateral, every Face containing eight Plethrons in length, and the ſame Meaſure in height. All the Stones are thirty Foot long, well ſquar'd, and jointed with the greateſt Exactneſs; riſing on the Outſide by a gradual Aſcent, which ſome call Stairs, and others little Altars, contriv'd in the following Manner: When they had laid the firſt Range, they carried other Stones up thither, by a ſhort Engine of Wood, and from thence to the ſecond by another; for theſe Engines thus employ'd, were equal in Number to the ſeveral Orders of Stone: Or perhaps the Engine was but one; and being eaſily manag'd, might be remov'd as often as they plac'd a Stone; for I have heard the Relation both ways. The higheſt were firſt finiſh'd, and the reſt in their proper Order; but laſt of all thoſe that are loweſt and neareſt the Ground. On this Pyramid, an

Inſcription

Inſcription is ſeen, declaring in Ægyptian Characters, how much was expended in Radiſhes, Onions and Garlick for the Workmen; which the Interpreter, as I well remember, told me, amounted to no leſs than the Sum of ſixteen hundred Talents of Silver. And if this be true, how much more may we think was expended in Iron Tools, in Bread, and in Cloaths for the Labourers, during the time they were building this Monument; beſides the great Sums that muſt of Neceſſity have been ſpent, while they were employ'd in tranſporting the Stones, and digging the ſubterraneous Vaults? In the End, *Cheops* having exhauſted his Treaſures, arriv'd to ſuch a Degree of Infamy, that he proſtituted his own Daughter in a certain Apartment; commanding her to get as much Money as ſhe could; but the Sum they mention'd not. She obey'd the Order of her Father; and at the ſame time contriving to leave a Monument of herſelf, aſk'd every one that came, to give her a Stone towards the Edifice ſhe deſign'd. By which means ſhe built that Pyramid which ſtands in the Midſt of the three, within View of the great Pyramid, and extends to the length of a Plethron and half on every ſide of the Baſis. Fifty Years, as the Ægyptians ſay, *Cheops* reign'd, and when he was dead, his Brother *Cephrenes* ſucceeded to the Kingdom; imitating him in other things, and particularly in building a Pyramid; which yet is far inferior in Dimenſions to that of *Cheops* (for we ourſelves meaſur'd them) having no ſubterraneous Chambers, nor a Channel, like the other, deriv'd from the *Nile*, and forming a kind of Iſland within, on which they ſay the Body of *Cheops* lies depoſited. The

lower part of this Fabrick is built with Æthiopian Marble of various Colours, forty Foot from the Ground. But they are both of equal Altitude, and ſtand on the ſame Hill; which riſes to the height of about a hundred Foot. They inform'd me, that *Cephrenes* reign'd fifty ſix Years; and that the Ægyptians having been thus oppreſs'd with all manner of Calamities, during one hundred and ſixty Years, in all which time the Temples were never open'd, had conceiv'd ſo great an Averſion to the Memory of the two Kings, that no Ægyptian will mention their Names; but always attribute their Pyramids to one *Philition* a Shepherd, who kept his Cattle in thoſe Parts. They ſaid alſo, that after the Death of *Cephrenes*, *Mycerinus* the Son of *Cheops* became King; and diſapproving the Conduct of his Father, open'd the Temples, and permitted the People, who are reduc'd to the laſt Extremities, to apply themſelves to their own Affairs, and to ſacrifice as in preceding times: That the Ægyptians praiſe this King above all others; particularly for adminiſtring Juſtice with ſo much Clemency, that when any Man complain'd of a hard Sentence, he us'd to make him amends, by ſome Preſent out of his own Treaſury: That while he was thus beneficent to his People, and careful of their Welfare, the firſt Misfortune that befel him, was the Death of his only Daughter; with which Calamity being extremely afflicted, he reſolv'd to bury her in an extraordinary manner; and having caus'd the Image of a Cow to be made of Wood richly guilded with Gold, he put the Body of his Daughter into the Machine. This Cow was not interr'd in the Ground; but continued to my time,

expos'd

expos'd to open View, in a magnificent Chamber of the Royal Palace in the City of *Sais*; where they burn exqiſite Odours all the Day, and illuminate the Place by Night with a Lamp. In another Room contiguous to this, are ſeen the Images of *Mycerinus* his Concubines, as the Prieſts of *Sais* affirm: And indeed about twenty Statues of Wood ſtand naked in that Place; but touching the Women they repreſent, I know no more than they were pleas'd to tell me. Yet ſome giving a different Account of this Monument, and of theſe Statues, ſay, that *Mycerinus* falling in Love with his Daughter, us'd violent Means to obtain her; which ſhe reſenting, hang'd herſelf, and was buried in this manner by her Father: That her Mother cut off the Hands of her Maids, for aſſiſting *Mycerinus* in the Rape of his Daughter; and for that Reaſon, ſay they, the Statues are made, as the Originals were mutilated for that Offence. But theſe things, as I conjecture, are not ſaid ſeriouſly; eſpecially in that particular relating to the Images, the Hands of which were ſeen by me ſcatter'd on the Floor; and I plainly perceiv'd they had dropp'd off through length of Time. The Body of the Cow is cover'd with Phœnician Trappings, except the Head and Neck, which are richly guilded; and a Circle of Gold in Imitation of the Sun is plac'd between the Horns. This Animal is repreſented kneeling, and equal in Proportion to the largeſt living Cow. The Ægyptians annually carry her out of the Apartment, where ſhe is plac'd; and after having whipp'd a certain God, not to be nam'd by me on this Occaſion, they bring her

into the Light; which they ſay is done, becauſe the Daughter of *Mycerinus* deſir'd her Father before ſhe died, that he would permit her to ſee the Sun once every Year. Another Calamity fell upon this King, after the Death of his Daughter. For a Prophecy was brought to him from the City of *Butus*, importing, that he had no more than ſix Years to live, and ſhould die in the ſeventh: Which Denunciation having heard with Impatience, he ſent a bitter Complaint to the Oracle; reproaching the God, That his Father and Uncle, who had ſhut up the Temples, deſpis'd the Gods, and deſtroy'd vaſt Numbers of Men, had liv'd long; and he, notwithſtanding his Piety and Religion, muſt die ſo ſoon. But the Oracle, in Anſwer, ſent him another Meſſage, to acquaint him, that his Life was ſhorten'd, becauſe he had not acted in Conformity to the Decrees of Fate; which had determin'd that *Ægypt* ſhould be afflicted during one hundred and fifty Years; and that this was well known to the two Kings his Predeceſſors, though not underſtood by him. *Mycerinus* finding himſelf thus condemn'd by the Gods, commanded a great Number of Lamps to be made, and lighted every Night, that he might inceſſantly paſs the time in drinking and Pleaſure; roving frequently by Night and by Day about the Plains and Groves, wherever he could hear of the moſt agreeable Company; imagining by this Artifice to convict the Oracle of Falſhood, and by turning the Nights into ſo many Days, to live twelve Years inſtead of ſix. This King likewiſe left a Pyramid of a quadrangular Form; but lower by twenty Foot than that of his Father, every Side extending to the length

length of three Plethrons, and built to the Middle with Æthiopian Stone. Some of the Grecians, without Reaſon, attribute this Monument to the Curtezan *Rhodophis*; but to me they ſeem ignorant who ſhe was. For as ſhe could not have undertaken to build a Pyramid, which, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, would require ſuch an infinite Sum; ſo ſhe did not live in the ſame time, but under the Reign of *Amaſis*, very many Years after the Death of thoſe Kings who founded the Pyramids. She was a Native of *Thrace*, Servant to *Iadmon* the Samian of *Hephæſtiopolis*, and Fellow-ſervant with *Æſop*, the Inventer of the Fables, who likewiſe belong'd to *Iadmon*, as appears by this Teſtimony chiefly. For when the Delphians had ſeveral times demanded by publick Proclamation, who would take the Penalty impos'd by the Oracle for the Death of *Æſop*, no Man appear'd, except *Iadmon* the Grandſon of this *Iadmon*, who was the Maſter of *Æſop*. *Xanthus* the Samian tranſported *Rhodophis* to *Ægypt*, in order to get Money; but *Charaxus* of *Mitylene*, Son to *Scamandronymus*, and Brother to *Sappho* the Poeteſs, purchas'd her Liberty wih a great Sum. By this means being deliver'd from Servitude, *Rhodophis* continued in *Ægypt*: And as ſhe became extremely beautiful, acquir'd great Treaſures for a Perſon of her Condition, though no way ſufficient to defray the Expence of ſuch a Pyramid. And whoever conſiders the Tenth of her Riches, which is to be ſeen in our Days, will ſoon find they were not ſo great. For out of a Deſire to leave ſome Memory of herſelf in *Greece*, ſhe contriv'd ſuch a Monument, as no Perſon ever thought of before; appropriating the Tenth of

all her Wealth to purchaſe a great Number of Iron Spits, ſtrong enough to carry an Ox; which ſhe ſent as an Offering to the Temple of *Delphi*; where they ſtill remain behind the Altar built by the Chians. From that time the Curtezans of *Naucratis* have been fond of appearing beautiful; partly, becauſe the Perſon we mention became ſo famous, that no Grecian was ignorant of the Name of *Rhodopis*; and partly on account of *Archidice*, who liv'd after her, and was highly celebrated in *Greece*, tho' not to a Degree equal to the former. As for *Charaxus*, who purchas'd the Liberty of *Rhodophis*, he return'd to *Mitylene*, and was not a little ridicul'd by *Sappho* in an Ode ſhe compos'd againſt him. But I ſhall ſay no more concerning *Rhodopis*,

After the Time of *Mycerinus*, the Prieſts ſaid, that *Aſychis* was King of *Ægypt*, and that he built the moſt beautiful and magnificent Portico of *Vulcan*'s Temple, which fronts to the Riſing-Sun: For though the other Porticoes are adorn'd with various Figures of excellent Sculpture, and many curious Pieces of Architecture; yet this is preferable to all: That *Aſychis* finding the Riches of *Ægypt* not to circulate, made a Law, to enable a Man to borrow Money upon the Sepulchre of his Father, with this Addition, that the Debtor ſhould put the Body into the Poſſeſſion of the Creditor: And that, if he afterwards refus'd to pay the Debt, he ſhould neither be buried in the ſame Place with his Father, or in any other, nor have the Liberty of burying any Perſon deſcended from him; that this King deſiring to outdo all his Predeceſſors, erected a Pyramid of Brick for his Monument,

ment, with this Inſcription, "Compare me not "to the Pyramids of Stone, which I excel as "much as *Jupiter* ſurpaſſes the other Gods. For "ſtriking the Bottom of the Lake with long "Poles, and then collecting the Mire that ſtuck "to them, Men made Bricks, and form'd me "in that manner." Theſe were the principal Actions of *Aſychis*. And after him, the Prieſts inform'd me, that *Anyſis* a blind Man, born in a City of the ſame Name, ſucceeded in the Kingdom: That during his Reign *Sabacon* King of *Æthiopia*, at the Head of a powerful Army, invaded *Ægypt*, and that the blind Man fled to the Fens: That the Æthiopian King reign'd fifty Years in *Ægypt*, and in all that time put no Ægyptian to Death for any Crime; contenting himſelf to command every Delinquent, in Proportion to his Offence, to carry a certain Quantity of Earth to the City, of which he was an Inhabitant; and by this means the Situation of the Ægyptian Cities was much elevated; for thoſe who cut the Canals in the Time of *Seſoſtris* had already brought thither all the Earth they took out of thoſe Aquæducts; but under this Æthiopian King they were raiſed much higher; and none more, in my Opinion, than the City of *Bubaſtis*, which has a Temple dedicated to *Bubaſtis*, who is no other than the *Diana* of the Grecians. This Temple well deſerves mention. For tho' others may be more ſpacious and magnificent, yet none can afford more Pleaſure to the Eye. The Temple is built in a Peninſula, no part, except the Entrance, joining to the Land; and almoſt ſurrounded by two Canals cut from the *Nile*, that beat upon the Flanks of the Avenue, without mixing together. Each Canal

nal is a hundred Foot broad, ſhaded with Trees on both Sides. The Portico is ten Fathoms in height, adorn'd with excellent Statues of ſix Cubits each. This Fabrick ſtands in the midſt of the City, open on all Sides to the publick View; and remaining untouch'd when the reſt of the Ground was rais'd by an Addition of Earth, is yet, like a Tower, plainly diſcover'd from every part about the Place. The Walls are beautified with various Figures wrought in the Stone, and incloſe a Grove of lofty Trees, that encompaſs a Chapel, in which an Image is plac'd. This Temple contains a full Stade in length, and as much in breadth. From the Avenue Eaſtward lies a Way through the Publick Place, leading to the Temple of *Hermes*, about three Stades in length, and four Plethrons in breadth, all pav'd with Stone, and planted with Trees on each ſide, that ſeem to reach the Heavens. And ſuch is the Deſcription of this Temple. Then proceeding to inform me of their Deliverance from the Æthiopian King, they ſaid, he fled from *Ægypt* upon a Viſion he had in a Dream, repreſenting a Man ſtanding by him, and adviſing him to aſſemble all the Ægyptian Prieſts, and to cut them in two by the middle of the Body: That after he had reflected on his Dream, he concluded that the Gods had a Deſign to lay before him an Occaſion of committing an impious Action, to the End he might be puniſh'd either by themſelves or by Men; but rather than be guilty of ſuch a Crime, he would return to his own Country; becauſe the time was then expir'd, which the Oracles had aſſign'd for the Duration of his Reign in *Ægypt*: For whilſt he was yet in *Æthiopia*, he had been admoniſh'd

moniſh'd by the Oracles of that Country, that he ſhould govern the Ægyptians fifty Years. In Concluſion, *Sabacon* ſeeing the Term of thoſe Years elaps'd and being exceedingly diſturb'd by the Viſion, voluntarily abandon'd *Ægypt*. So that after his Departure the blind King return'd to the Exerciſe of the Government from the Fens; where he had continued fifty Years, and had form'd an Iſland for his Habitation, compos'd of Aſhes and Earth. For when any Ægyptian went to him by Order with Proviſions, he always deſir'd him to bring ſome Aſhes thither, without diſcovering the Secret to the Æthiopian. This Iſland which goes by the Name of *Elbo*, and comprehends ten Stades in length, and the ſame Meaſure in breadth, lay undiſcover'd more than ſeven hundred Years, 'till the Reign of *Amyrtæus*; and was never found out by any of the Kings his Predeceſſors. After him ſucceeded *Sethon*, a Prieſt of *Vulcan*, who ſlighting the military Men of *Ægypt* as Perſons altogether uſeleſs to him, among other Indignities, took away the Lands they poſſeſs'd, and which had been aſſign'd to them by former Kings, being a ſquare of ſix hundred Cubits to each Man. For this Reaſon, when *Senacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Aſſyria* invaded *Ægypt* with a numerous Army, the military Men refus'd to aſſiſt him; ſo that the Prieſt in great Perplexity betook himſelf to the Temple; and proſtrate before the Image of the God, deplor'd the Calamities impending over his Head. In the midſt of theſe Lamentations he fell aſleep, and dream'd he ſaw the God ſtanding by his ſide, exhorting him to take Courage, and aſſuring him, if he would march out againſt the Arabians, he

ſhould receive no hurt; but on the contrary, be effectually ſuccour'd, and aveng'd of his Enemies. In confidence of this Viſion, the Prieſt aſſembled the Artificers, Traders, and all the Populace, who were willing to follow him, and encamp'd on the Frontier near *Peluſium*, without any of the Military Order in his Army. But the Night after his Arrival, an infinite number of Field-Rats entring the Enemy's Camp, gnaw'd their Quivers, Bows, and the Thongs of their Shields in pieces. So that, finding themſelves diſarm'd, they were conſtrain'd to break up the next Morning in Confuſion, and ſuſtain'd great Loſs in their Flight. For which Cauſe, a Statue of Stone repreſenting this King, is erected in the Temple of *Vulcan*, with a Rat in one Hand, and theſe Words iſſuing from his Mouth; *Whoever beholds me, let him learn to be Religious.* Thus far the Ægyptians and the Prieſts are the Authors of this Relation, and gave an Account of three hundred forty and one Generations, from their firſt King to the Reign of *Sethon* Prieſt of *Vulcan*, and laſt of theſe Monarchs; in which Time the Number of High Prieſts was found equal to that of the Kings. Now, three hundred Generations are ten thouſand Years, every three Generations being accounted equivalent to a hundred Years: And the forty one that remain above the three hundred, make one thouſand three hundred and forty Years. Thus, they ſaid, in eleven thouſand three hundred and forty Years, no God had put on the Form of a Man: Neither had they ever heard of ſuch a thing in *Ægypt*, under their more ancient or later Kings. They ſaid indeed, that in thoſe Days, the Sun had four times alter'd his regular

regular Courſe, having been twice obſerv'd to riſe where he now ſets, and to go down twice where he now riſes; yet without producing any Change, either by Land or Water, by Diſeaſes or Mortality.

HAVING given an Account of my Deſcent to the Prieſts of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, I met with almoſt the ſame Return, *Hecatæus* the Hiſtorian formerly had from them; when tracing his Genealogy by the Male Line, he deriv'd himſelf from ſixteen Gods. For they conducted me to a ſpacious Edifice, and ſhew'd me large Images of Wood, repreſenting all their preceding High Prieſts; and pointing to each in Order, as they ſtood, the Son after the Father, they went thro' the whole Number I mention'd before, repeating their Genealogy in a gradual Deſcent; for every High Prieſt places his Image there during his Life. But when *Hecatæus* in the Account of his Family, came to mention the ſixteenth God, they would by no means admit of his Suppoſition, that a Man could be begotten by a God; but on the contrary told him, that each of the Images he ſaw repreſented a Piromois begotten by another Piromois; and that of the whole Number, amounting to three hundred and forty five, no one had been reputed either a God or a Hero; the Word Piromois ſignifying no more in their Language than an honeſt and virtuous Man; which Character all thoſe repreſented by the Images had, and yet were far inferior to the Gods: That indeed before the time of theſe Men, the Gods had been the Sovereigns of *Ægypt*, but were not converſant with Mortals; that one of them always exercis'd the ſupreme Power, and that the laſt of thoſe Kings was

Orus

Orus the Son of *Oſiris*, who dethron'd *Typhon*, and by the Grecians is call'd *Apollo*, as *Oſiris* by the ſame People is nam'd *Bacchus*. The Grecians alſo think, that *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, and *Pan* are the youngeſt of all the Gods; but in *Ægypt Pan* is eſteem'd the moſt ancient, even of the eight primary Deities: *Hercules* is among thoſe that are ſecond in Antiquity, and go under the Name of the twelve: And *Bacchus* is of the third Order of Gods, who derive their Being from the former. I have already declar'd how many Years the Ægyptians account from *Hercules* to the Reign of *Amaſis*: But their Computation from *Pan* contains a greater Number, and from *Bacchus* fewer Years than from either, tho' from this God to the Reign of *Amaſis* they reckon no leſs than fifteen thouſand Years. The Ægyptians ſay they know theſe things with Certainty, becauſe they have always computed the Years, and kept an exact Account of time. Now from *Bacchus*, who is ſaid to have been the Son of *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, to our time, about ſixteen hundred Years have paſs'd; and from *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*, about nine hundred; but from *Pan*, who, as the Grecians ſay, was the Son of *Mercury* by *Penelope*, not more than eight hundred; which is a leſs Number of Years than they account from the Siege of *Troy*. Let every Man embrace the Opinion he judges moſt probable; as I have declar'd my own touching theſe things. For if *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, and *Pan* the Son of *Penelope*, had liv'd famous and grown old in *Greece*, like *Hercules* the Son of *Amphytrion*, ſome might have ſaid, that theſe Men obtain'd the Names of thoſe ancient Gods. But, becauſe the Grecians

cians report that *Jupiter* receiv'd *Bacchus* as ſoon as he was born; and having ſew'd him into his Thigh, carried him to *Niſſa* in *Æthiopia* beyond *Ægypt*; and becauſe they have nothing at all to ſay touching the Place of *Pan*'s Education, I am fully convinc'd, that the Grecians had not heard of theſe, 'till they were made acquainted with the Names of the other Gods, and therefore they aſcribe their Generation to that time, and not higher. Thus having reported the Traditions peculiar to the Ægyptians, I ſhall now relate ſuch things as other Nations, no leſs than they, acknowledge to have been done in *Ægypt*, and ſhall add ſome Particulars, of which I was an Eye-Witneſs.

THE Ægyptians were free, upon the Death of their King, the Prieſt of *Vulcan*; but having never been capable of living without a kingly Government, they divided *Ægypt* into twelve Parts, and conſtituted a King over each Diviſion. Theſe twelve Kings contracted Alliances by mutual Marriages, and reciprocally oblig'd themſelves to continue in perpetual Amity without invading the Territories of each other, or endeavouring to enlarge their own. Which Contract they contriv'd in ſuch obligatory Terms, becauſe they had been admoniſh'd by an Oracle, when they aſſum'd the Government, that whoever among them ſhould offer a Libation in the Temple of *Vulcan* out of a Bowl of Braſs, ſhould be ſole King of *Ægypt*; for they us'd to aſſemble in all the Temples indifferently. But being deſirous to leave a publick Monument of their Reign at the common Charge, they built a Labyrinth near the City of *Crocodiles*, a little above the Lake of *Mœris*, which I ſaw, and found far ſurpaſſing

ſurpaſſing the Report of Fame. For if any Man will impartially conſider the Buildings and Monuments of the Grecians, he will plainly ſee upon Compariſon, that this Labyrinth is a Work of more Labour and greater Expence; tho' I confeſs the Temples of *Epheſus* and *Samos* deſerve a peculiar Regard. The Pyramids are beyond Expreſſion magnificent, and ſingly comparable to many of the greateſt Structures in *Greece* conſider'd together. And yet the Labyrinth is more admirable than the Pyramids. For this Building contains twelve vaulted Halls, with ſo many oppoſite Doors; ſix opening to the North, and ſix to the South; all encompaſs'd by the ſame Wall. Fifteen hundred Chambers are comprehended within the upper part of this Edifice, and an equal Number under Ground. I view'd every Room of the upper part, and only report what I ſaw. But of the ſubterraneous part I can ſay nothing, except upon the Credit of other Men; for the Ægyptians who kept the Place would by no means permit me to go in; becauſe, ſaid they, the Sepulchres of the holy Crocodiles, and of thoſe Kings that built the Labyrinth are there. I am therefore confin'd only to report the things I heard concerning the ſubterraneous Buildings. But the upper Part, which I carefully view'd, ſeems to ſurpaſs the Art of Men: So many Egreſſions by various Paſſages, and infinite Returns, afforded me a thouſand Occaſions of Wonder, as I paſs'd from a ſpacious Hall to a Chamber; from thence to a private Cabinet; then again into other Paſſages out of the Cabinets, and out of the Chambers into the more ſpacious Rooms. All the Roofs and Walls within are incruſted with

Marble; but the Walls are farther adorn'd with Figures of Sculpture. The Halls are ſurrounded with Pillars of white Stone finely poliſh'd. And at the Angle where the Labyrinth ends, a Pyramid is erected, forty Fathom in Height, with Figures of the largeſt Animals in Sculpture, and a ſubterraneous Way leading into it. Nevertheleſs, tho' this Labyrinth be ſuch as I have deſcrib'd; yet the Lake of *Mœris*, by which that Monument ſtands, is more wonderful; containing the full Meaſure of three thouſand and ſix hundred Stades, or ſixty Schœnes in Circumference; which is equal to the Length of all the Sea-Coaſt of *Ægypt*. The Figure of this Lake is Oblong, ſtretching to the North and South; and in the deepeſt Parts has fifty Fathom of Water. But the two Pyramids built about the Middle of the Lake, which raiſe their Heads fifty Fathom above the Surface of the Water, and conceal as many underneath, ſhew undeniably that this Work was perform'd by the Hands of Men. On each of theſe a Statue of Marble is plac'd, ſeated in a Throne; by which Account, the Pyramids are one hundred Fathom in Height; and one hundred Fathom make up juſt a Stade of ſix Plethrons. The Fathom is a Meaſure containing ſix Foot, or four Cubits: The Foot comprehends four Palms, and the Cubit ſix. This Lake is not fed by Springs; for all thoſe Parts are exceſſively dry; but by Waters deriv'd thro' Chanels cut from the *Nile*, which flow into the Lake ſix Months of the Year, and return to the River the other ſix. During all the ſix Months of the River's Retreat, the Fiſhery yields a Talent of Silver every Day to the King's Treaſury; and the reſt of the

Time, twenty Mines only. The Inhabitants aſſur'd me that this Lake runs under the Earth as far as the Sands of *Libya*, leaning always to the Weſtward, by the Way of the midland Country, and the Mountains of *Memphis*. But being much concern'd not to ſee the Earth that was taken out of theſe Works, I deſir'd the neighbouring People to explain the Matter; who informing me that all that Earth had been carried away, I eaſily gave them Credit, becauſe I had heard that the like had been done at the City of *Ninus* in *Aſſyria*. For when certain Thieves had form'd a Deſign to ſteal the vaſt Treaſures of *Sardanapalus* King of *Ninus*, which were preſerv'd in ſubterraneous Vaults, they carried on a Mine from their own Habitations to the Palace, and every Night throwing the Earth they had taken out into the River *Tigris*, which paſſes by the City, they at laſt effected their Deſign. The ſame Method was taken in *Ægypt*, with this Exception only, that they wrought here by Day and not in the Night. For they inform'd me, that all the Earth they dug, was carried by the *Ægyptians* to the *Nile*, and diſpers'd by the Current of that River. And in this Manner the Lake of *Mœris* is reported to have been made.

THE twelve Kings continued ſtrictly to obſerve the Contract they had made; when meeting all together at a ſtated Time to ſacrifice in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and being about to offer a Libation on the laſt Day of the Solemnity, the High Prieſt by Miſtake brought no more than eleven of the twelve golden Bowls, which were reſerv'd for theſe Occaſions. So that to ſupply the Deficiency, *Pſammetichus*, who ſtood laſt in Order,

Order, took off his Helmet of Braſs, and holding it in his Hand, perform'd the Ceremony of Libation with the reſt. All the other Kings had the ſame kind of Helmet, and wore them at that Time; neither had *Pſammetichus* any ill Intention. But they conſidering the Action, and recollecting the Prediction of the Oracle, "That he who ſhould offer a Libation out of a "Bowl of Braſs, ſhould be ſole King of *Ægypt*; tho' they would not put him to Death, becauſe upon Examination they found him free from any evil Deſign, nevertheleſs unanimouſly agreed to diveſt him of the greateſt Part of his Territories, and to baniſh him into the Fens, with a ſtrict Prohibition not to remove, or intermeddle in the Affairs of any other Part of *Ægypt*. Long before this Event *Pſammetichus* had been forc'd to fly into *Syria*, to eſcape the Fury of *Sabbacon* King of *Æthiopia*, who had kill'd his Father *Nechos*; and to continue in Exile, 'till he was recall'd by the Inhabitants of *Sais*, after the *Æthiopian* had been induc'd by the Terror of a Dream to abandon *Egypt*. Then reigning in Conjunction with the eleven Kings, he was again conſtrain'd to withdraw into the Fens, for uſing his Helmet at the Libation. But not being able to digeſt this Indignity, and ſtudying how to revenge himſelf againſt his Perſecutors; he ſent to the Oracle of *Latona* in the City of *Butus*, which is accounted the moſt infallible in *Ægypt*, and receiv'd for Anſwer, "That he ſhould be re-"veng'd by Men of Braſs ſuddenly riſing out "of the Sea. This Oracle plung'd him into the deepeſt Incredulity; not comprehending the poſſibility of receiving Succour from Men of

Braſs. But not long after, ſome Ionian and Carian Pirates driven by Neceſſity to go aſhore in *Ægypt*, landed in Armour of Braſs. Upon which an Ægyptian, who had never before ſeen Men arm'd in that Manner, went to the Fens, and acquainted *Pſammetichus*, that certain Men of Braſs had riſen out of the Sea, and were ravaging all the Lands adjacent to the Shore. He, no longer doubting the Accompliſhment of the Prediction, made an Alliance with theſe Ionians and Carians, and having by Promiſes of ample Gratifications perſuaded them to ſtay, did, with their Aſſiſtance and the Help of ſuch Ægyptians as well affected to him, ſubdue and dethrone all the other Kings.

THUS being in Poſſeſſion of all *Ægypt*, he added a Portico to *Vulcan*'s Temple at *Memphis*, facing the South; and in the Front of this Portico, built another ſpacious Edifice, adorn'd with various Figures of Sculpture, and ſurrounded with Colloſs's twelve Cubits high, in the Place of Pillars, deſign'd for the Habitation of *Apis*, by the Grecians nam'd *Epaphus*, when he ſhould be found. He rewarded the Ionians and Carians who had aſſiſted him, with Lands ſituate on each ſide of the *Nile*, and ſeparated by that River; calling thoſe Habitations, the Camp. And beſides theſe Lands he gave them whatever he had promis'd before the Expedition; and put divers Ægyptian Children under their Care, to be inſtructed in the Knowledge of the Grecian Language. So that thoſe who now perform the Office of Interpreters in *Ægypt*, are deſcended from this Colony. The Ionians and Carians continued for a long Time to inhabit thoſe Parts; which

which lye near the Sea, below the City of *Bubaſtis*, in the Peluſian Mouth of the River *Nile*: 'Till in ſucceeding Time, *Amaſis* King of *Ægypt* caus'd them to abandon their Habitations, and ſettle at *Memphis*, to defend him againſt the Ægyptians. But from the Time of their firſt Eſtabliſhment, they had ſo conſtant a Communication with the Grecians, that one may juſtly ſay, we certainly know all things that paſs'd in *Ægypt* ſince the Reign of *Pſammetichus* to our Age. They were the firſt People of a different Language, who ſettled in *Ægypt*; and the Ruins of their Buildings, together with the Remains of the Stations and Arſenals they had for Shipping, are ſeen to this Day evidently diſcovering the Place where they firſt inhabited. And in this Manner *Pſammetichus* became Maſter of all *Ægypt*.

CONCERNING this Oracle, I have already related divers particulars; and ſhall now farther enlarge on the ſame Subject; as a thing that deſerves a ſingular Regard. The Temple is dedicated to *Latona*, and built in the great City of *Butus*, as I mention'd before, beyond the Sebennytic Mouth of the *Nile*, as Men navigate from the Sea up that River. *Apollo* and *Diana* have alſo Temples in the ſame City; and that of *Latona*, which contains the Oracle, is a magnificent Structure adorn'd with a Portico ſixty Foot high. But of all the things I ſaw there, nothing ſeem'd ſo aſtoniſhing to me, as a quadrangular Chapel in this Temple, cut out of one ſingle Stone, and containing a Square of forty Cubits on every ſide, intirely cover'd with a Roof of one Stone likewiſe, having a Border four Cubits thick. This Chapel, I confeſs, appear'd to me the moſt

prodigious thing I ſaw in that Place; the next to this, the Iſland of *Chemmis*, ſituate in a broad and deep Lake near the Temple of *Butus*. The Ægyptians ſay this is a floating Iſland; but I could not ſee it either float or move, and wonder'd to hear them affirming ſo ſtrange a thing. The Iſland of *Chemmis* contains a ſpacious Temple dedicated to *Apollo*, and three Altars; with great Numbers of Palms, and other Trees, as well of ſuch as produce Fruit, as of thoſe that ſerve for Shade and Ornament. The Opinion of the Ægyptians touching this Iſland is founded on the following Tradition. They ſay that *Latona*, one of the eight Primary Deities, reſiding in *Butus*, where her Oracle now is, receiv'd *Apollo* from the Hands of *Iſis*, and preſerv'd his Life by concealing him in this, which is now call'd the floating Iſland, when *Typhon* arriving in thoſe Parts, us'd all poſſible Diligence to find out the Son of *Oſiris*. For they ſay that *Apollo* and *Diana* are the Offspring of *Dionyſius* and *Iſis*; and that *Latona* was their Nurſe and Preſerver; calling *Apollo* and *Ceres* by the Names of *Orus* and *Iſis*; and *Diana* by that of *Bubaſtis*. Now from this Account and no other, *Æſchylus* the Son of *Euphorion* took his Information, when he alone of all the former Poets introduc'd *Diana* as the Daughter of *Ceres*, and ſaid that the Iſland was made to float on this Occaſion. Theſe things are thus reported.

PSAMMETICHUS reign'd in *Ægypt* fifty four Years; nine and twenty of which he ſpent at the Siege of *Azotus* in *Syria*, before he could reduce that great City, which of all others we know, held out the longeſt Time. His Son *Necus* ſucceeded

ſucceeded him, and began a Canal of Communication beetween the *Nile* and the *Red Sea*, which *Darius* the Perſian afterwards finiſh'd. Two Galleys may advance abreaſt, and perform the whole Voyage in four Days. This Canal begins at the *Nile* a little above *Bubaſtis*, and paſſing by *Patumon* a City of *Arabia*, flows into the *Red Sea*. 'Tis cut thro' the Plains of *Ægypt*, that lye towards *Arabia*; becauſe the Mountains of *Memphis*, which contain the Quarries of Stone, are ſituate beyond this Level. And therefore this great Canal is carried along the Foot of thoſe Hills from the Weſt to the Eaſtward, and then turn'd thro' the Chops of the Mountains towards the South into the Arabian Gulph. But the ſhorteſt and moſt compendious Paſſage from the Northern Sea to the Southern, or *Red Sea*, is by Mount *Caſius*, which ſeparates *Egypt* from *Syria*. For this Mountain is not above a thouſand Stades diſtant from the Gulph of *Arabia*. So that this is the ſhorter Way, the other being render'd more tedious by the frequent Turnings of the Canal. One hundred and twenty thouſand Ægyptians employ'd in this Labour, periſh'd under the Reign of *Necus*; and when the Work was half done, the Oracle admoniſh'd him to deſiſt, and leave the Canal to be finiſh'd by a Barbarian; for that Name is given by the Ægyptians to all thoſe who are of another Language. Thus *Necus* abandoning his Deſign, turn'd his Thoughts to Military Affairs, and built a Fleet of Gallies on the Northern Sea, and another in the Arabian Gulph, at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, as appears by the Ruins of his Arſenals and Havens remaining to this Day. Theſe Fleets he us'd upon Occaſion; and

was no leſs formidable by Land. For he fought a Battle againſt the Syrians in the Plains of *Magdolus*; and after he had obtain'd the Victory, took the great City of *Cadytis*. The Garments he wore in theſe Actions, he conſecrated to *Aaollo*, and ſent them to *Branchis* in the Territories of the Mileſians. He reign'd ſixteen Years; and at his Death left the Kingdom to his Son *Pſammis*.

DURING the Reign of this King, Ambaſſadors from *Elis* arriv'd in *Ægypt*, boaſting that they had out-done all Mankind, in eſtabliſhing the Olympian Exerciſes under the moſt juſt and excellent Regulations, and did not think that the Ægyptians, tho' they were the wiſeſt People of the World, could make any Addition to their Inſtitution. Being arriv'd, and having acquainted the King with the Cauſe of their Ambaſſy, he ſummon'd an Aſſembly of ſuch Perſons as were eſteem'd the wiſeſt among the Ægyptians: Who when they had heard all that the Eleans had to ſay concerning the Olympian Exerciſes, and the Cauſe of their coming, which they ſaid was to inquire whether the Ægyptians could invent any thing more equitable; ask'd the Ambaſſadors, if the Citizens of *Elis* were permitted to enter the Liſts: And the Eleans anſwering that they and all other Grecians were equally admitted; the Ægyptians replied, that in ſo doing they had totally deviated from the Rules of Juſtice; No Conſideration being ſufficient to reſtrain Men from favouring thoſe of their own Country to the Prejudice of Strangers. But if they were ſincerely deſirous to act juſtly, and had undertaken this Voyage into *Ægypt* with that Intention,

tion, they ought to exclude all the Eleans, and admit only Strangers to be the Opponents. This Admonition the Eleans received from the Ægyptians.

Psammis reign'd only ſix Years; and having undertaken an Expedition againſt the Æthiopians, died ſoon after, and left the Kingdom to his Son *Apries*. This King liv'd twenty five Years in greater Proſperiry than any of his Predeceſſors, except his Grandfather *Pſammetichus*. In which Time he invaded *Sidon* with an Army, and engag'd the Tyrians in a Sea-fight. But being deſtinated to Ruin, his Misfortunes began upon an Occaſion, which I ſhall briefly mention in this Place, and more largely explain, when I ſpeak of the Libyan Affairs. *Apries* having ſent a numerous Army againſt the Cyrenæans, and receiving a very great Defeat, the Ægyptians revolted; ſuſpecting he had deſignedly contriv'd the Slaughter of thoſe Forces, that after their Deſtruction he might govern the reſt with a more abſolute Authority; which they ſo highly reſented, that not only thoſe who returned from that Expedition, but all the Friends of thoſe that had periſh'd, openly revolted againſt him. When *Apries* heard of this Defection, he diſpatch'd *Amaſis* to pacify them with kind Expreſſions. But as he was beginning to reprove the Ægyptians, and to diſſuade them from their Enterprize, a certain Ægyptian who ſtood behind *Amaſis*, put a Helmet upon his Head, and ſaluted him King of *Ægypt*. Which was not done without the Participation of *Amaſis*, as the Event ſhew'd. For he was no ſooner declar'd King, than he prepar'd to lead an Army againſt *Apries*; Who being

being inform'd of all that had paſs'd, ſent *Patarbemis*, one of the moſt conſiderable Perſons among the Ægyptians that adher'd to him, with Orders to bring *Amaſis* alive into his Preſence. *Paterbemis* arriving in the Camp, call'd to *Amaſis*; but he, as he ſat on Horſeback, lifting up his Thigh and breaking Wind, bid him carry that to *Apries*. In the End, when *Patarbemis* requir'd him to go to the King, he anſwer'd, that he had been long preparing to viſit him; and that he might give him no Cauſe of Complaint, he would not only appear himſelf, but would bring ſome Company with him. *Patarbemis* perceiving the Deſign of *Amaſis* by the Words he had heard, and the Preparations he ſaw, thought himſelf obliged to inform the King of theſe things with all Expedition: And coming into his Preſence without *Amaſis*, *Apries*, ſaid not one Word to him; but in a ſudden Tranſport of Paſſion commanded his Ears and Noſe to be cut off. The reſt of the Ægyptians, who to that Time had continued faithful to *Apries*, ſeeing a Perſon of univerſal Eſteem treated in ſo unworthy a Manner, went immediately over to thoſe who had revolted, and offer'd themſelves to *Amaſis*; which when *Apries* heard, he drew out his Auxiliary Forces, conſiſting of Carians and Ionians, to the Number of thirty thouſand; and marching from *Sais*, where he had a beautiful and magnificent Palace, led his Troops againſt the Egyptians; whilſt *Amaſis* led the Army he commanded againſt the Foreigners. They met in the Fields of *Memphis*, and prepar'd themſelves on both ſides for a Battle.

THE

THE Ægyptians are diſtinguiſh'd into ſeven Orders of Men; Prieſts, Soldiers, Herdſmen, Hogherds, Traders, Interpreters, and Pilots, who take the Names from the Profeſſions they exerciſe. The Military Men are call'd either Calaſirians, or Hermotybians, according to the Diſtricts they inhabit. For all *Ægypt* is divided into Diſtricts or Juriſdictions. The Hermotybians are of the Diſtrict of *Buſiris*, *Sais*, *Chemmis*, *Papremis*, and one half of the Iſland *Proſopis*, which is call'd *Natho*. From theſe Diſtricts a hunderd and ſixty thouſand Hermotybians may be drawn, when they are moſt numerous. None of theſe ever learn any Mechanick Art, but apply themſelves wholly to Military Affairs. The Calaſirians are of the Juriſdictions of *Thebes*, *Bubaſtis*, *Apthis*, *Tanis*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, *Athribis*, *Pharbæthis*, *Thmuis*, *Onyphis*, *Anyſis* and of *Mycephoris*, which is ſituated in an Iſland over againſt *Bubaſtis*. Theſe Diſtricts of the Calaſirians may furniſh two hundred and fifty thouſand Men at moſt; who being likewiſe reſtrain'd from exerciſing any Mechanick Profeſſion, are oblig'd to apply themſelves from Father to Son, to the Art of War only. I cannot affirm that the Grecians receiv'd this Cuſtom from the Ægyptians; eſpecially conſidering that the Thracians, Scythians, Perſians, Lydians, and almoſt all barbarous Nations have little Regard to thoſe who profeſs any Mechanick Art; judging ſuch as abſtain from thoſe Employments, and particularly Military Men, to be of a more generous Spirit. Yet all the Grecians have entertain'd the ſame Maxim, and principally the Lacedæmonians; tho' the Mechanick Arts are not accounted altogether

gether ſo diſhonourable among the Corinthians. The Lands conferr'd upon the Militia are exempted from all publick Tributes as well as thoſe of the Prieſthood. Twelve Acres are aſſign'd to each Man, every Acre containing a Square of one hundred Ægyptian Cubits, which are equal to ſo many Cubits of *Samos*. They all enjoy theſe Advantages, but are admitted to other Profits by Turns. For a thouſand Calaſirians, and as many Hermotybians ſerve the King annually for a Guard, and, beſides the Revenue of their Lands, receive a daily Allowance, conſiſting of five Pounds of Bread, and two of Beef, with four Draughts of Wine to each Man.

Both Armies being advanc'd to *Memphis*; *Apries* at the Head of his Auxiliaries, and *Amaſis* with all the Ægyptians, they fought a Battle: In which the Foreigners behav'd themſelves with great Courage: But being oppreſs'd with Numbers, were entirely defeated. 'Tis reported that *Apries* fondly thought he had ſo well eſtabliſh'd his Authority, that the Power of a God would not prove ſufficient to diſpoſſeſs him of the Kingdom; and yet he was beaten, taken Priſoner, and confin'd to the Palace of *Sais*, formerly his own, and now belonging to *Amaſis*; where he was kept for ſome Time, and treated with great Humanity. But the People murmuring at the Lenity of *Amaſis* to a common Enemy, as injurious to himſelf and the whole Nation, he was conſtrain'd to deliver *Apries* into the Hands of the Ægyptians; who ſtrangled him, and laid his Body in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors, erected in tke Temple of *Minerva* adjoyning to the Palace, on the Left-hand of the Entrance.

trance. For the Inhabitants of *Sais* have always buried the Kings that were of their Province in this Temple. But the Monument of *Amaſis* is plac'd at a greater Diſtance from the Palace than that of *Apries* and his Progenitors. In the Court of this Temple ſtands a magnificent Structure, adorn'd with Columns of Stone cut to extraordinary Dimenſions, and reſembling Palm-Trees in Figure; together with many other Ornaments; and within that Edifice are two Doors between which a funeral Monument is plac'd. Behind the ſame Temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, certain Sepulchres are built by the back Wall. For a Memorial of things not to be nam'd by me. Vaſt Obeliſks ſtand erected on the conſecrated Ground, near a Lake of orbicular Form, lin'd with Stone, and in my Opinion equal to that of *Delos*, which from the Roundneſs of its Figure is call'd *Trochoeides*. In this Lake the Ægyptians form the Ideas of their nocturnal Paſſions, which they call Myſteries. But for the Sake of Decency, I ſhall not explain theſe things, tho' the far greater Part are well known to me. Neither ſhall I utter one Word more than is permitted, touching the ſacred Rites of *Ceres*, which in *Greece* are call'd *Theſmoforian*. The Daughters of *Danaus* brought theſe Ceremonies from *Ægypt*, and inſtructed the Pelaſgian Women in the Uſe of them. But upon the Expulſion of the Peloponneſians, theſe Rites were almoſt aboliſh'd; except among the Arcadians, who were not ejected by the Dorians.

After the Death of *Apries*, the Kingdom continued in the Hands of *Amaſis*, who was born in the City of *Siuph*, in the Province of *Sais*.

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The Ægyptians ſhew'd little Reſpect to him in the Beginning of his Reign; but rather deſpis'd him as a Perſon of inferior Rank, and not deſcended of an illuſtrious Family, but he ſoon acquir'd their Eſteem by his Art and Dexterity. For among other infinite Treaſures, he had a Baſon of Gold in which he and all thoſe who were admitted to eat at his Table, were accuſtom'd to waſh their Feet. This Baſon he caus'd to be melted down, and formed into the Statue of a God; which having plac'd in the moſt frequented Part of the City, the Ægyptians with great Reverence paid their Devotions to the Image. In the mean Time *Amaſis*, inform'd of their Behaviour, calls a general Aſſembly, and acquaints the Ægyptians, that the Image they now worſhipp'd ſo devoutly, was made out of the Bowl, in which they had ſo often piſs'd, vomited, and waſh'd their Feet; and that his Condition was not unlike that of the Image: For tho' he had been formerly an ordinary Perſon, yet being now their King, he requir'd them to honour and obey him: And by this Means he perſuaded the Ægyptians to think themſelves oblig'd in Duty to pay him all that Reſpect and Submiſſion which is due to a King. His uſual Manner was to employ all the Hours in the Morning in an aſſiduous application to the Publick Affairs, and afterwards to divert himſelf in Company, drinking with his Companions, and frequently deſcending even to play the Part of a Buffoon. But his Friends offended at his Conduct, admoniſh'd him, that theſe Actions tended to render him contemptible. "For, ſaid they, he who "ſits on a Throne ought to paſs the whole Day

" in the Adminiſtration of publick Buſineſs; that " the Ægyptians may know they are govern'd " by a great King, and ſpeak honourably of " his Perſon. Whereas your Conduct is alto- " gether unbecoming the Royal Dignity. *Ama-ſis* in Anſwer ſaid, " That an Archer, when he " is about to ſhoot, braces his Bow; but af- " ter he has ſhot, looſens the String; becauſe " a Bow that ſhould always continue bent, " would either break or be render'd uſeleſs " in Time of need: And that this might rea- " ſonably be applied to Men: For if a Man " ſhould inceſſantly attend to ſerious Studies, " and refuſe to ſpend any Part of his Time " in ludicrous Recreations, either Madneſs or " Stupidity would ſteal upon him: Of which " Truth being perfectly convinc'd, he had " contriv'd to divide the Time between Buſi- " neſs and Diverſion. And indeed the Ægyp- tians ſay that *Amaſis*, while he was a private Perſon, lov'd to drink, and divert himſelf with Jeſting and Raillery; and was ſo far from be- ing a Man of Diligence and induſtry, that he betook himſelf to ſtealing, when he could no o- therwiſe ſupply the Expences of his Luxury: For which being frequently accus'd by thoſe he had robb'd, and always denying the Fact, he was often carried to the Oracle of the Place, where he was many Times convicted, and as often acquitted. But after his Acceſſion to the Throne, he ſlighted the Temples of all thoſe Gods, who had acquitted him; and abſtaining from their Sacrifices, would never beſtow any Donation upon them; well knowing they de- ſerv'd no regard, by the Experience he had of the Falſhood of their Oracles. Whereas on the contrary,

contrary, perſuaded of the Veracity of thoſe Gods, who had declar'd him a Thief, he paid a ſingular Reverence to their Temples. He built that admirable Portico which ſtands before the Temple of *Minerva* in *Sais*, far ſurpaſſing all others in Circumference and Elevation, as well as in the Dimenſions of the Stones; and adorn'd the Building with Coloſſian Statues, and the monſtrous Figures of *Androſphynges*. One Part of the Stones employ'd in this Work, were cut in the Quarries of *Memphis*; but thoſe of the greateſt Magnitude were convey'd by Water from the City of *Elephantis*, diſtant from *Sais* as far as a Veſſel can make in twenty Days. But that which I beheld with greateſt Admiration was a Houſe he brought from *Elephantis*, made of one Stone. Two thouſand Men, all Pilots, were employ'd during three whole Years in the Tranſportation of this Houſe; which has in Front twenty one Cubits, in Deph fourteen, and eight in Height. And this is the Meaſure of the Outſide. The Inſide is eighteen Cubits and upwards in Length, twelve in Depth, and five Cubits in Height. This wonderful Edifice is plac'd by the Entrance of the Temple; ſome ſay, becauſe the Architect regretting the Time he had ſpent in ſo tedious a Labour, fetch'd a deep Sigh as he was moving the Machine towards its Station; which *Amaſis* reſenting would not ſuffer him to proceed. But others affirm, that one of the Men who guided the Rowlers, was cruſh'd to pieces in the Way to the Temple, and on that Account they advanc'd no farther. Among the many magnificent Donations which *Amaſis* preſented in the moſt famous Temples, he caus'd a Coloſſus, lying with the

the Face upwards, ſeventy five Foot in Length, to be plac'd before the Temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis:* And on the ſame Baſis erected two Statues of twenty Foot each, wrought out of the ſame Stone, and ſtanding on each ſide of the great Coloſſus. Like this, another is ſeen in *Sais*, lying in the ſame Poſture; cut in Stone, and of equal Dimenſions. He likewiſe built the great Temple of *Iſis* in the City of *Memphis*, which well deſerves to be admired.

UNDER the Reign of *Amaſis Ægypt* was exceedingly happy in all the Conveniences deriv'd from the River to the Country, or from the Country to Men, and contain'd twenty thouſand populous Cities. He eſtabliſh'd a Law, commanding that every Ægyptian ſhould annually declare before the Governor of the Province, by what Means he maintain'd himſelf; and if he omitted to go, or gave not a ſatisfactory Account of his Way of Living, he ſhould be puniſh'd with Death. This Law *Solon* the Athenian brought from *Ægypt*, and introduc'd into *Athens*; where 'tis inviolably obſerv'd as a moſt equitable Conſtitution. *Amaſis* was a Lover of the Grecians, and, beſides the Favours he conferr'd upon particular Perſons and Cities, he permitted as many as would come into *Ægypt*, to inhabit the City of *Naucratis*, and granted that thoſe who would not ſettle there, but choſe rather to attend their Commerce by Sea, might erect Altars and Temples to the Gods in certain Places aſſign'd to that End. The greateſt, nobleſt, and moſt frequented of theſe Temples is that which is generally known by the Name of the *Grecian Temple*, built at the common Expence of the Ionian Cities of

Chio, *Teos*, *Pocæa*, and *Clazomene*; in Conjunction with the Dorian Communities of *Rhodes*, *Cnidus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, *Phaſelis*; and the City of *Mitylene* only of the Æolians. So that theſe Places alone have a Title to this Temple, and to appoint the Governors of Commerce: And all other Communities that participate of thoſe Privileges, are only admitted upon Favour. For the People of *Ægina* built a Temple to *Jupiter* at their own Charge; the Samians one to *Juno*, and the Mileſians another to *Apollo*. The City of *Naucratis* was antiently the only Place of Reſort for Merchants in all *Ægypt*: And if a Veſſel put into any other Harbour of the *Nile*, the Proprietor was oblig'd to ſwear he arriv'd unwillingly, and would depart in the ſame Ship by the firſt Opportunity; and that if contrary Winds ſhould prevent him from reaching the Port of *Canopus*, he would unload his Goods, and carry them in Boats round the *Delta* to *Naucratis*. So great were the Privileges of that City.

When the Amphyctions agreed to pay three hundred Talents for rebuilding the Temple of *Delphi*, which had been burnt by an unknown Accident, and charg'd a fourth Part of that Sum upon the Inhabitants of the Place, the Delphians went about, deſiring Aſſiſtance of divers Cities, and brought Home no ſmall Contributions from *Ægypt*. For they receiv'd a thouſand Talents of *Alom* from *Amaſis*, and the Value of twenty Mines from the Grecians who were ſettled in his Kingdom. *Amaſis* made alſo an Alliance of mutual Amity and Defence, with the Cyrenæans; and reſolving to take a Wife of that Country; either out of a Deſire

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of having a Grecian Woman, or from a peculiar Affection to that People, he married *Ladice*, the Daughter, as ſome ſay, of *Battus*, others, of *Arceſilaus*; tho' a third ſort pretend ſhe was the Daughter of *Critobulus*, a Perſon of great Authority among the Cyrenæans. But not being able to uſe her as his Wife after Marriage, and yet finding no Impediment with Reſpect to other Women, he at length told her ſhe had inchanted him, and that no Artifice ſhould be ſufficient to deliver ſo wicked a Woman out of his Hands. *Ladice* denied the Fact, and endeavour'd to pacify him: But when nothing would prevail, ſhe ſigh'd out a mental Prayer to *Venus*; and vow'd, if *Amaſis* ſhould be enabled to do the Part of a Huſband that Night (which was the only Remedy left) ſhe would ſend a Statue of the Goddeſs to be erected in *Cyrene*. No ſooner had ſhe made this Vow than *Amaſis* found himſelf like other Men, and continued to uſe *Ladice* as his Wife with all poſſible Tenderneſs and Affection. On the other Hand *Ladice* not unmindful of her Promiſe to the Goddeſs, ſent the Statue ſhe had vow'd, which ſtands intire to this Day without the Gates of *Cyrene*. And when *Cambyſes* had conquer'd *Ægypt*, and receiv'd an Account of this Perſon, he preſerv'd her from all injurious Uſage, and caus'd her to be conducted in Safety to her own Country. *Amaſis* ſent ſeveral conſecrated Donations to *Greece*. He preſented a guilded Statue of *Minerva* to the City of *Cyrene*; with his own Picture drawn after the Life: To *Lindus* he gave two Statues of Stone repreſenting the ſame Goddeſs, together with a linen Pectoral of admirable Workmanſhip: And ſent two Images of himſelf carv'd

in Wood to the City *Samos*; where to this Day they are ſeen ſtanding in the great Temple of *Juno* behind the Gates. *Amaſis* made this Donation to *Samos*, on Account of the mutual Obligations of Hoſpitality, contracted between him and *Polycrates* the Son of *Æaces:* And the other to *Lindus*, without any Engagement of that Nature, but becauſe the Daughters of *Danaus* are reported to have founded the Temple of *Minerva* in that City, when they fled thither from the Sons of *Ægyptus*. And theſe were the Donations of *Amaſis*. He was the firſt who conquer'd *Cyprus*, and conſtrain'd the Cyprians to pay him Tribute.

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THE

History of *Herodotus.*

Book III.

THALIA.

AGAINST this *Amaſis*, *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus* aſſembled an Army, conſiſting of his own Subjects, and the Grecian Forces of the Ionians and Æolians. The Cauſe of the War was this. *Cambyſes* ſent a Herald into *Ægypt* to demand the Daughter of *Amaſis:* To which he was perſuaded by an Ægyptian Phyſician diſſatisfied with the King becauſe he had ſeparated him from his Wife and Children, and compell'd him to go to *Perſia* rather than any other, when *Cyrus* by a Meſſage deſir'd *Amaſis* to ſend him the beſt Phyſician for the Eyes that could be found in *Ægypt*. The angry Ægyptian inceſſantly endeavour'd to induce *Cambyſes* to make this Demand, to the End that *Amaſis*, if he ſhould comply, might be mortified with the Loſs of his Daughter, or irritate the King of *Perſia* by his Refuſal. Under theſe Difficulties *Amaſis* could not eaſily determine what Reſolution to take: For he dreaded the Perſian Power; and knew *Cambyſes* demanded his Daughter, not to make her his Wife, but his Concubine. At laſt he re-

ſolv'd upon this Expedient. His Predeceſſor *Apries* had left an only Daughter, tall and beautiful, whoſe Name was *Nitetis*. This Virgin *Amaſis* furniſh'd with all Manner of magnificent Apparel, and ſent her to *Perſia* for his own Daughter: Where ſome Time after her Arrival, when *Cambyſes* viſiting her in a familiar Manner call'd her the Daughter of *Amaſis*, ſhe ſaid, "O King, Thou haſt been de-"ceiv'd by *Amaſis*, who ſent me hither with all "thoſe Ornaments in the Place of his Daughter: "Whereas indeed I am the Daughter of *Apries* "his Maſter whom he put to Death, after he "had revolted with the reſt of the Ægyptians." Theſe Words fill'd *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus* with Indignation, and determin'd him to make War againſt *Ægypt*. Thus the Perſians report the Matter. But the Ægyptians claim a Relation to *Cambyſes* by Blood, and pretend that he was the Son of this *Nitetis*; and that *Cyrus*, not *Cambyſes*, was the Perſon who ſent for the Daughter of *Amaſis*. Nevertheleſs this Account is groundleſs and diſingenuous. For if any People of the World are well inform'd of the Perſian Cuſtoms, the Ægyptians certainly are; and therefore could neither be ignorant that a Son of the half Blood is never admitted to be King of *Perſia*, when a legitimate Heir is apparent; nor that *Cambyſes* was the Son of *Caſſandana* Daughter to *Pharnaſpes* of the Race of *Achæmenes*; and not of an Ægyptian Woman. But they have deliberately perverted the Truth, that they might have ſome Colour to pretend a Relation to the Family of *Cyrus*. Another Story they have contriv'd, which I think no leſs incredible than the former. They ſay that a

Perſian Lady being admitted to the Preſence of the King's Women, and ſeeing the Children of *Caſſandana* beautiful and well proportion'd, could not refrain from admiring her Happineſs; but *Caſſandana* anſwer'd, that tho' ſhe was Wife to *Cyrus*, and Mother to theſe Children, yet he ſlighted her, and preferr'd an Ægyptian Servant, meaning the hated *Nitetis*, before her: Upon which *Cambyſes*, the eldeſt of her Sons ſaid, "Mother, when I am a Man, I will "on your Account turn all *Ægypt* upſide down:" That this Diſcourſe of *Cambyſes*, who had not then attain'd to more than ten Years of Age, ſtruck all the Women preſent with Admiration; and that he kept his Revenge in Memory till he grew up; and when he was poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom, made War againſt *Ægypt*. Another Motive that concurr'd to induce him to undertake this Expedition, was the Arrival of *Phanes*, by Deſcent a Grecian of *Halicarnaſſus*. He had been one of the Auxiliaries of *Amaſis*, prudent in Council, and valiant in Action. This Man diſſatisfied with *Amaſis*, on I know not what Occaſion, departed by Sea from *Ægypt*, with a Deſign to confer with *Cambyſes*. But *Amaſis*, who knew him to be a Man of Credit among the Auxiliaries, and well acquainted with the Ægyptian Affairs, reſolv'd to purſue him with all Diligence: And to that End ſent one of the moſt truſty among his Eunuchs with a Galley, who ſurpriz'd him in *Lycia*; but did not bring him back to *Ægypt*, becauſe he was over-reach'd by his Priſoner. For *Phanes* made his Guard drunk, and by that Means eſcaping into *Perſia*, arriv'd at the Time when *Cambyſes* was preparing all things for his Expe-

dition to *Ægypt*, and much perplex'd how he ſhould paſs the Deſerts that were deſtitute of Water. He diſcover'd many important Affairs of *Amaſis* to the King of *Perſia*, and advis'd him to deſire the King of *Arabia* by a Meſſage to grant him a ſafe Paſſage thro' his Territories; as the only Way into *Ægypt* eaſy of Acceſs. For whatever is ſituate between *Phœnicia* and the Borders of *Cadytis*, which belongs to the Syrians of *Palæſtine*, and in my Opinion is little inferior to *Sardis*; together with all the trading Places on the Coaſt to the City of *Jenyſus*, is part of the Arabian Territories. And ſo is the whole Tract of Land that lies extended from *Jenyſus*, which belongs to the Syrians, to the Lake of *Serbonis*, where Mount *Caſius* ſtretches towards the Sea. But from the Lake of *Serbonis*, in which *Typhon* is reported to have conceal'd himſelf, the Country belongs to *Ægypt*. And all that Space which lies between the City of *Jenyſus*, Mount *Caſius* and the Lake, being no leſs than three Days March, is utterly deſtitute of Water. But in this Place I ſhall mention a thing which has not been obſerv'd by many who have paſs'd by Sea into *Ægypt*. Twice every Year the Grecians and Phœnicians tranſport thither certain Earthen Veſſels fill'd with Wine; and yet not one of theſe is ever to be found empty. Now if any Man ask how this comes to paſs, I ſhall inform him. The Governor of every Province is oblig'd to collect all thoſe Veſſels that he can find within his Juriſdiction, and ſend them to *Memphis*; where they are fill'd with Water, and then convey'd to thoſe arid Parts of *Syria*. So that all theſe Veſſels, that can be found in *Ægypt*, are

from Time to Time ſent back into *Syria* In this Manner the Perſians, when they had conquer'd *Ægypt*, made Proviſion of Water for the Forces they ſhould afterwards ſend to that Country. But, as before this Expedition Water was not thus preſerv'd in thoſe Parts, *Cambyſes* by the Advice of *Phanes* the Halicarnaſſian ſent Ambaſſadors to ſolicite the King of *Arabia* to permit him to paſs in Safety; and upon mutual Aſſurances of Amity obtain'd his Requeſt. The Arabians are moſt religious Obſervers of the Contracts they make; which are attended with theſe Ceremonies. When they enter into mutual Obligations, a third Perſon ſtanding between the Parties, makes an Inciſion with a ſharp Stone in the Palm of the Hand under the longeſt Fingers of both the Contracters; and cutting a Shred from the Garment of each, dips it in the Blood, and anoints ſeven Stones brought thither to that End, invoking the Names of *Bacchus* and *Urania*. After this Invocation, the Mediator of the Agreement exhorts the Stranger, or the Citizen, if the Contract be made with a Citizen, to perform the Conditions: And the Contracters are oblig'd to profeſs themſelves bound in Juſtice to obſerve the Treaty. They acknowledge no other Gods than *Bacchus* and *Urania*, whom they call by the Names of *Ourotalt* and *Alilat*. They ſhave their Temples, and cut their Hair to a circular Form; in order, as they ſay, to reſemble *Bacchus*. The Arabian, after the Concluſion of this Treaty with the Ambaſſadors of *Cambyſes*, caus'd a great Number of Camels Skins to be fill'd with Water, and loaded on living Camels; which being done, he order'd them to be drived to the arid Deſarts,

and

and there in Perſon expected the Arrival of *Cambyſes* with his Army. This Account ſeems to me the moſt credible: Yet I muſt not omit to mention another Expedient; (tho' leſs probable) becauſe 'tis affirm'd likewiſe. *Corys* is a great River of *Arabia*, and runs into the *Red Sea*. And they ſay that the King of *Arabia* by joyning together the raw Hides of Oxen and other Animals, made an Aquæduct from this River to the Deſerts, and convey'd the Water thither by that Means, into Ciſterns provided for receiving and preſerving as much as ſhould be neceſſary. But that becauſe the Way between the River and this dry Country was no leſs than twelve Days Journey, he contriv'd to convey the Water by three ſeveral Aqæducts into three different Places.

PSAMMENITUS the Son of *Amaſis* lay encamp'd with his Army at the *Peluſian* Mouth of the *Nile*, in Expectation of *Cambyſes*; for *Amaſis* died before this Invaſion, after he had reign'd forty and four Years, in a continued Courſe of Felicity. His Body was embalm'd, and buried in the Sepulchre which he had built for himſelf in the Temple. During the Reign of *Pſammenitus* a great Prodigy was ſeen in *Ægypt*. Showers of Rain fell at *Thebes*; which, the Thebans ſay, had never happen'd before, nor ſince even to this Day. For no Rain ever falls in the upper Regions of *Ægypt*: But at that Time they had Rain, as the Thebans affirm.

THE Perſian Army march'd thro' the unwater'd Country, and arriving near the Camp of the Ægyptians, reſolv'd to hazard a Battle: Which the Grecians and Carians, who were Auxiliaries to the Ægyptians, perceiving, they,

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to ſhew their Deteſtation of *Phanes*, for introducing a foreign Enemy into *Ægypt*, brought his Sons into the Camp; and having plac'd a Bowl between the two Armies, kill'd them all upon the Bowl in Sight of their Father. Then, they pour'd Water and Wine into the Blood; and after all the Auxiliaries had taſted of this Mixture they began the Attack. The Battle was obſtinately fought, and great Numbers fell on both ſides: But at laſt the Ægyptians were put to Flight. On this Spot of Ground I ſaw a very ſurprizing thing, which the People of the Country ſhew'd me. For as the Bones of thoſe who were kill'd in that Fight are ſeparated; thoſe of the Perſians lying in one Place, and thoſe of the Ægyptians in another, I found the Skulls of the Perſians ſo weak that one might break them with the leaſt Pebble; whereas thoſe of the Ægyptians were hard enough to reſiſt the Percuſſion of a weighty Stone. They told me, and I aſſented to their Experience, that this Difference is owing to the Ægyptian Cuſtom of ſhaving the Heads of their Children early; by which Means the Bone is rendred thicker and ſtronger thro' the Heat of the Sun, and the Head preſerv'd from Baldneſs: And indeed we ſee fewer Perſons bald in *Ægypt* than in any other Country. As therefore the Skull of an Ægyptian is fortified by this Method, ſo the Heads of the Perſians are ſoften'd by contrary Cuſtom. For they are not expos'd to the Sun, but always cover'd with Caps and Turbans. And I obſerv'd the ſame thing at *Papremis* in thoſe who were defeated with *Achæmenes* the Son of *Darius*, by *Inarus* King of *Libya*.

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to ſhew their Deteſtation of *Phanes*, for introducing a foreign Enemy into *Ægypt*, brought his Sons into the Camp; and having plac'd a Bowl between the two Armies, kill'd them all upon the Bowl in Sight of their Father. Then, they pour'd Water and Wine into the Blood; and after all the Auxiliaries had taſted of this Mixture they began the Attack. The Battle was obſtinately fought, and great Numbers fell on both ſides: But at laſt the Ægyptians were put to Flight. On this Spot of Ground I ſaw a very ſurprizing thing, which the People of the Country ſhew'd me. For as the Bones of thoſe who were kill'd in that Fight are ſeparated; thoſe of the Perſians lying in one Place, and thoſe of the Ægyptians in another, I found the Skulls of the Perſians ſo weak that one might break them with the leaſt Pebble; whereas thoſe of the Ægyptians were hard enough to reſiſt the Percuſſion of a weighty Stone. They told me, and I aſſented to their Experience, that this Difference is owing to the Ægyptian Cuſtom of ſhaving the Heads of their Children early; by which Means the Bone is rendred thicker and ſtronger thro' the Heat of the Sun, and the Head preſerv'd from Baldneſs: And indeed we ſee fewer Perſons bald in *Ægypt* than in any other Country. As therefore the Skull of an Ægyptian is fortified by this Method, ſo the Heads of the Perſians are ſoften'd by contrary Cuſtom. For they are not expos'd to the Sun, but always cover'd with Caps and Turbans. And I obſerv'd the ſame thing at *Papremis* in thoſe who were defeated with *Achæmenes* the Son of *Darius*, by *Inarus* King of *Libya*.

THE

The Ægyptians, after they had loſt the Battle, fled away to *Memphis* in a diſorderly Manner. Which *Cambyſes* hearing, he ſent a Perſian Herald thither in a Ship of *Mitylene* to exhort them to ſurrender. But when they ſaw the Veſſel entring the Port of *Memphis*, they ran out in great Numbers to the Shore; deſtroy'd the Ship; tore the Men in Pieces, and carried their mangled Limbs into the City. Upon this the Ægyptians were beſieg'd, and after ſome Time forc'd to ſubmit. Which ſo terrified the Libyans, that to avoid the like Calamity, they yielded to Mercy without a Blow, and taxing themſelves in Proportion to their Abilities ſent divers Preſents to *Cambyſes*. The Cyrenæans and Barcæans being under the ſame Apprehenſions, ſurrendred likewiſe as the Libyans had done. *Cambyſes* very favourably receiv'd the Preſents of the Lybians, but was highly diſpleas'd at thoſe of the Cyrenæans, as I conjecture, becauſe they were inconſiderable. For they ſent no more than five hundred Mines of Silver, which he took with Diſdain, and threw about among the Soldiers. On the Tenth Day after the taking of *Memphis*, *Cambyſes* to try the Conſtancy of *Pſammenitus*, who had reign'd only ſix Months, ſent him in Diſgrace to the Suburbs of the City, accompanied by other Ægyptians; and at the ſame Time ordering his Daughter to be dreſs'd in the Habit of a Slave, and furniſh'd with a Bucket, commanded her, with other Virgins of the principal Families in *Ægypt* cloath'd in the ſame Manner, to bring Water from the River. When the Fathers of theſe Virgins ſaw them weeping and lamenting, they likewiſe wept and bewail'd the Calamity

Calamity of their Children. But *Pſammenitus* alone, who ſaw and heard no leſs than they, only turn'd his Eyes towards the Ground. Theſe Virgins having paſs'd by with Water, *Cambyſes* in the next Place ſent the Son of *Pſammenitus* thither alſo, attended by two thouſand Ægyptians of like Age, all with Halters about their Necks, and a Curb in their Mouth; to ſuffer Death in Satisfaction for the Lives of thoſe Mitylenæans who periſh'd with their Ship. For the King's Judges had determin'd that ten of the principal Ægyptians ſhould be ſacrific'd for every one of thoſe Men. Yet when *Pſammenitus* perceiv'd them paſſing, and knew that his Son was going to dye, he did no more than he had done at the Sight of his Daughter; tho' all the reſt of the Ægyptians about him made loud Lamentations. But he no ſooner ſaw one of his Companions, a Man advanc'd in Years, plunder'd of all, and living only upon Alms, walking about the Suburbs, where the Army, and *Pſammenitus* with other Ægyptians were, than he wept bitterly, and calling him by his Name, ſtruck himſelf upon the Head. All theſe things being reported to *Cambyſes* by three Perſons who were plac'd about *Pſammenitus* to obſerve his Actions, he was ſtruck with Wonder, and ſent a Meſſage to him in theſe Words. "*Pſammenitus*, Thy Maſter *Cambyſes* is deſirous "to know why, after thou hadſt ſeen thy "Daughter ſo ignominiouſly treated, and thy "Son led to Execution, without any Exclamation or Weeping, thou ſhouldſt be ſo "highly concern'd for a poor Man no Way "related to thee, as he is inform'd." To this Queſtion *Pſammenitus* return'd the following Anſwer,

ſwer, " Son of *Cyrus*, The Calamities of my " Family are too great to leave me the Power " of weeping: But the Misfortunes of a Com- " panion, reduc'd in his Old-age to the extrem- " eſt Neceſſity, may be fitly lamented with " Tears." His Anſwer being brought to *Cam- byſes*, was generally approv'd; and the Ægyptians ſay that not only *Cræſus*, who accompanied him in this Expedition, and all the Perſians that were preſent, could not refrain from Tears; but that *Cambyſes* himſelf touch'd with Remorſe, ſent immediate Orders to ſave the Life of the Son, and to bring the Father from the Suburbs into his Preſence: That theſe Meſſengers found the Son already dead, having been the firſt that ſuffer'd; but conducted *Pſammenitus* to *Cambyſes*; who permitted him to live at his own Diſcretion, without doing him any Manner of Violence. And if by his Conduct he had perſuaded *Cambyſes* that he deſir'd no Innovation, he might probably have been entruſted with the Adminiſtration of *Ægypt*. For the Perſians are accuſtom'd to pay ſo great Reſpect to the Sons of Kings, that they uſually beſtow the Kingdoms of thoſe who revolt, upon their Children; as may be proved by many Examples, and particularly by thoſe of *Thannyra* the Son of *Inarus* the Lybian, who was inveſted with his Father's Government; and of *Pauſiris* the Son of *Amyrtæus*, who met with the ſame Fortune; tho' greater Diſaſters never fell upon the Perſians, than by the Means of thoſe two Kings. But *Pſammenitus* deſigning to raiſe new Diſturbances, and ſoliciting the Ægyptians to rebel, was ſiez'd by order of *Cambyſes*, and receiv'd the juſt Reward of his Infidelity. For after his Conviction

viction he drank the Blood of a Bull, and died immediately.

FROM *Memphis Cambyſes* went to the City of *Sais*, in order to execute a Deſign he had projected; and to that end going into the Palace of *Amaſis*, he preſently commanded his Body to be taken out of the Sepulchre; which being done, he gave farther Orders to whip him; to pull of his Hair; to prick him with pointed Inſtruments, and to abuſe the Corpſe with all Manner of Indignity. But after they had tired themſelves with this Employment, and ſaw all their Efforts rendred ineffectual by the Solidity of the imbalming Compoſition, *Cambyſes* commanded the Body to be burnt: Which was an Action of Impiety; becauſe the Perſians believe Fire to be a God; and to burn a dead Body is not permitted in either Nation. For the Perſians ſay 'tis a Violation of Religion to feed a God with the dead Body of a Man: And the Ægyptians hold that Fire is a ſavage Animal, which devours all that comes within his Reach, and after he has glutted his voracious Appetite, expires with the things he has conſum'd: Neither do they ever give the Bodies of dead Men to wild Beaſts; but chuſe rather to embalm them than to bury them in the Earth, leſt they ſhould be eaten by Worms. So that *Cambyſes* commanded a thing altogether repugnant to the Manners of both Nations. But the Ægyptians pretend this was not the Body of *Amaſis*, but of another Ægyptian, equal to him in Years, whom the Perſians, miſtaking him for *Amaſis*, treated ſo opprobriouſly. For they ſay, that *Amaſis* being admoniſh'd by the Oracle of what ſhould happen to him after Death, contriv'd

to

to ſecure himſelf againſt the Prediction, by placing the dead Body of this Ægyptian near the Door of his Sepulchre, and commanding his Son to depoſit his own in the remoteſt Part of the ſame Monument: Tho' I am of Opinion that theſe pretended Commands of *Amaſis* touching his own Funeral, and this Ægyptian, are fictitious.

After this, *Cambyſes* reſolv'd to undertake three ſeveral Expeditions; one againſt the Carthaginians; another againſt the Ammonians; and a third againſt the Macrobian Æthiopians, who inhabit that Part of *Libya* which lies upon the *South Sea*. He deſign'd to attack the Carthaginians with a Fleet, and the Ammonians by a Land-Army. But before he would make War againſt the Æthiopians, he determin'd to ſend ſome Perſons into the Country, who under Pretence of carrying Preſents to their King, and inquiring into the Truth of the Report concerning the Table of the Sun, might diſcover the Strength and Condition of the Kingdom. They ſay this Table of the Sun is a certain Meadow in the Suburbs, furniſh'd with the roaſted Fleſh of all Sorts of four-footed Animals, which being rang'd in Order by the Magiſtrates of the City in the Night, ſerve to feaſt all Comers in the Morning. The Inhabitants ſay, that theſe things are a daily Preſent of the Earth: And this is their Account of the Table of the Sun.

Cambyses in Purſuance of his Reſolution touching the Spies, ſent to *Elephantis* for ſuch Perſons among the Ichthyophages, as beſt underſtood the Æthiopian Language; and in the mean Time commanded all his Naval Forces to ſail towards

wards *Carthage*. But the Phœnicians alledging that they were under the moſt ſacred Obligations of Relation to the Carthaginians, and could not without Impiety make War againſt their own Blood, refus'd to execute the Orders of *Cambyſes*. And the reſt being utterly uncapable of ſuch an Enterprize, the Carthaginians were thus preſerv'd from the Perſian Power. For *Cambyſes* did not think convenient to compel the Phœnicians to obey, becauſe they had voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and made up the great Strength of his Fleet; tho' the Cyprians had done the ſame, and were likewiſe employ'd againſt the Ægyptians. When the Ichthyophages arriv'd from *Elephantis*, *Cambyſes* ſent them away to *Æthiopia* with full Inſtructions, and Preſents conſiſting of a Suit of Purple, a Necklace and Bracelets of Gold, an Alabaſter Box of rich Ointment, and a Veſſel of Palm Wine. Theſe Æthiopians are reported to ſurpaſs all other Men in Beauty and large Proportion of Body; and to govern themſelves in reſpect to the Succeſſion of the Kingdom by a peculiar Method, unknown in any other Part of the World. For they confer the Royal Dignity upon the Man who is of the largeſt Size, and of Strength proportionable to his Perſon. To this Nation the Ichthyophages were ſent; and after their Arrival having made their Preſents to the King, they addreſs'd themſelves to him in theſe Words, "*Cambyſes* King of the Perſians, being deſirous "to enter into mutual Engagements of Friend-"ſhip and Hoſpitality with Thee, has given "us Commiſſion to treat of this Affair; and "ſent theſe Preſents, which are ſuch as he him-"ſelf is moſt delighted with." To which the

Æthiopian, not doubting they were Spies, return'd this Anſwer. "'Twas not from any Conſideration of my Friendſhip that the King of "*Perſia* ſent you to me with theſe Preſents; "neither have you ſpoken the Truth; but are "come into my Kingdom as Spies. If *Cambyſes* "were an honeſt Man, he would deſire no "more than his own; and not endeavour to "reduce a People under Servitude who have "never done him any Injury. However, give "him this Bow from me, and let him know "that the King of *Æthiopia* adviſes the King "of *Perſia* to make War againſt the Macrobian Æthiopians, when the Perſians ſhall "be able thus eaſily to draw ſo ſtrong a Bow; "and in the mean Time to thank the Gods, "that they never inſpir'd the Æthiopians "with a Deſire of extending their Dominion beyond their own Country." When he ſaid this, he looſen'd the String, and deliver'd the Bow to the Ambaſſadors. Then taking up the purple Garment, he aſk'd what it was, and how made; and after they had inform'd him touching the Colour, and Manner of the Tincture, "The Men, ſaid he, are deceit-"ful, and ſo is the Cloathing they wear." In the next Place he queſtion'd them concerning the Necklace and Bracelets; and when they had explain'd to him the curious Workmanſhip of thoſe things, the King laught, and told them that Chains of a far greater Strength were to be found in *Æthiopia*. Of the Oyntment he gave the ſame Judgment as of the purple Garments. But when they enter'd into a Diſcourſe about the Wine, which the Æthiopian taſted with great Pleaſure, he deſir'd to know what

what Proviſions were us'd at the King of *Perſia*'s Table, and to what Age the longeſt Life of a Perſian might reach. The Ambaſſadors anſwer'd, that the Food of the King of *Perſia* was Bread; taking Occaſion from that Demand to deſcribe the Nature of Wheat; and that the longeſt Life of a Perſian might extend to fourſcore Years. The Æthiopian King replied, that he was not at all ſurpriz'd, if Men who eat nothing but Dung, did not attain to a longer Life: And was perſuaded they could not arrive even to that Age, without the Aſſiſtance of Wine: Acknowledging the Perſians to have the Advantage of the Æthiopians in that Particular. Then the Ichthyophages inquiring in their Turn concerning the Life and Diet of the Æthiopians, the King ſaid, that they uſually attain'd to a hundred and twenty Years; and ſome to a greater Age; that they fed upon roaſted Fleſh, and us'd Milk for their Drink. But ſeeing the Spies aſtoniſh'd at the Mention of ſo great a Number of Years; he brought them to a Fountain, which renders the Bodies of Men ſmooth as if anointed with Oil, and perfum'd, as with the Odour of Violets. The Water of this Fountain, as the Spies ſaid, is too weak to bear either Wood, or other Subſtance lighter than Wood; but every thing preſently ſinks to the Bottom. This Water, if indeed they have any ſuch, is ſaid to be us'd by all the Inhabitants, and accounted the Cauſe of their Longevity. From this Fountain the King conducted them to ſee the Priſons, where all the Priſoners are fetter'd with Chains of Gold: For among theſe Æthiopians the moſt rare and valued of all Metals, is

Braſs. The next thing they view'd was the Place which is call'd the Table of the Sun; and laſt of all the Sepulchres, which are ſaid to be cover'd with Glaſs in the Manner following. When they have dried the Body after the Ægyptian Faſhion, or ſome other Way; they lay on a Covering of white Plaiſter, which they paint with Colours as near as poſſible to the Likeneſs of the Perſon deceas'd: Then they incloſe the Body within a hollow Column of Cryſtal, which they dig eaſily, and in great Abundance in thoſe Parts. The Dead are plainly ſeen thro' theſe tranſparent Glaſſes; emitting no ill Scent; nor being at all diſagreeable to the Eye; becauſe they perfectly reſemble the Perſons living. They are kept a whole Year in the Houſes of their neareſt Relations; and during that Time are honour'd with Sacrifices, and the firſt Fruits of all things: After which they are carried out, and plac'd upright round the Parts adjoyning to the City.

The Ichthyophages having ſeen every thing remarkable, return'd to *Cambyſes*; and after they had acquainted him with all that had paſs'd, he fell into a violent Paſſion, and order'd his Army to march immediately againſt the Æthiopians, without making any Proviſion for their Subſiſtance, or once conſidering that he was going to make War in the remoteſt Parts of the World; but aſſoon as he had heard the Report of his Meſſengers, like a Man abandon'd of Reaſon and good Senſe, he began to move with the whole Body of his Land Forces; commanding only the Grecians to ſtay behind with their Ships. When he arriv'd at *Thebes*,

Thebes, he drew out about fifty thouſand Men; ordering them to ravage all the Country of the Ammonians, and to burn the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, whilſt he with the reſt of his Army ſhould march againſt the Æthiopians. But before he had advanc'd a fifth Part of the Way, his Proviſions were conſum'd, together with the Cattle that ſerv'd to carry the Baggage: And if upon the firſt Information of this Want, *Cambyſes* had return'd with his Forces, and ceas'd to purſue his raſh Attempt, before he committed more Faults, he had given ſome Proof of his Wiſdom. But he abandon'd all to Chance, and obſtinately continued his March. The Soldiers fed upon Herbs, ſo long as they found any in their Way: But when they arriv'd in the ſandy Deſarts, ſome of them were guilty of a horrid Action. For they caſt Lots among themſelves, and eat every tenth Man: Which *Cambyſes* hearing, and apprehending they would continue to devour one another; he deſiſted from his Enterprize againſt the Æthiopians, and retreated to *Thebes*, after he had loſt a great Part of his Army. From thence under the Conduct of Guides he return'd with the reſt of his Forces to *Memphis*; where, at his Arrival he diſmiſs'd the Grecians with Leave to retire in their Ships to their own Country: And thus ended this Expedition of *Cambyſes* againſt the Æthiopians. As for that Part of the Army which he ſent againſt the Ammonians, they march'd from *Thebes*, and by the Help of their Guides arriv'd at the City *Oaſis*, inhabited by Samians, who are reported to be deſcended from the Æſchrionian Tribe, and ſituate ſeven Days March from *Thebes*, thro' the Sands. This Country in the Grecian Lan-

guage is call'd the Fortunate Iſland, and no Man doubts that an Army arriv'd in this Place. But what was their Fate afterwards, is related by none except the Ammonians, or thoſe who have convers'd with them: For they never return'd to their own Country, nor even to *Ægypt*. The Ammonians ſay, they march'd from *Oaſis*; and after they had paſs'd one half of the Sands which lie in the Way from that City, a ſtrong and impetuous Wind began to blow from the South at the Time of their Dinner, and rais'd the Sands to ſuch a Degree, that the whole Army was buried alive and periſh'd.

When *Cambyſes* was return'd to *Memphis*, *Apis*, or, as the Grecians call him, *Epaphus*, appearing among the Ægyptians, they put on the richeſt of their Apparel, and feaſted ſplendidly. Which *Cambyſes* ſeeing, and highly reſenting theſe Expreſſions of Joy, after his Affairs had ſucceeded ſo ill; he ſent for the Magiſtrates of *Memphis*, and putting them in Mind that the Ægyptians had done no ſuch thing when he was in *Memphis* before, ask'd why they carried themſelves in this Manner, after he had loſt ſo great a Part of his Army. They anſwer'd, that when their God manifeſted himſelf, which ſeldom happen'd, the Ægyptians had been always accuſtom'd to celebrate his Appearance with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy. Which when *Cambyſes* heard, he told them, They lyed; and put them to Death, as Lyars. Then he ſent for the Prieſts; and having receiv'd the like Anſwer from them, he ſaid, that if any God was ſo mild and familiar to ſhew himſelf to the Ægyptians, he would not be unacquainted with him; and without more Words commanded

manded the Prieſts to bring their God. So they departed to put his Orders in Execution. This *Apis*, or *Epaphus*, is the Calf of a Cow uncapable of bearing another, and no otherwiſe to be impregnated than by Thunder, as the Ægyptians affirm. The Marks that diſtinguiſh him from all others, are theſe. His Body is black; except one Square of White on the Forehead: He has the Figure of an Eagle on his Back; a double Liſt of Hair on his Tail; and a Scarabæus under his Tongue. When the Prieſts had brought their God into the Preſence of *Cambyſes*, he in a brutal Manner drew his Dagger, and deſigning to thruſt it into the Belly of *Apis*, wounded him in the Thigh: Then falling into a Fit of Laughter, "Ye Wretches, ſaid he, are theſe things, which "are compos'd of Fleſh and Blood, and ſo eaſily "vulnerable, the Gods you worſhip? This is a "worthy God indeed, and ſuitable to the Cha-"racter of the Ægyptians. But I will let you "know that you ſhall not abuſe me with Im-"punity". When he had ſaid theſe Words, he commanded the proper Officers to whip the Prieſt; and to kill all the Ægyptians they ſhould find making publick Demonſtrations of Joy. Thus the Feſtival was interrupted; the Prieſts puniſh'd; and *Apis*, after he had languiſh'd ſome Time, dying of his Wound in the Temple, was buried by the Prieſts, and his Death conceal'd from *Cambyſes*. The Ægyptians ſay *Cambyſes* grew mad immediately after this ſacrilegious Action; tho' 'tis known he was ſo before; and had made the firſt Diſcovery of his Extravagance upon the Perſon of his Brother *Smerdis*, who was born of the

ſame Father and Mother with himſelf; ſending him back from *Ægypt* in a jealous Humour to *Perſia*, becauſe he alone of all the Perſians had been able to draw the Bow, which the Ichthyophages brought from the Æthiopian King, within the Breadth of two Fingers. After his Departure *Cambyſes* dream'd he ſaw a Viſion, repreſenting a Meſſenger arriv'd from *Perſia* to inform him that *Smerdis* was ſeated on the Royal Throne, and touch'd the Heavens with his Head. Upon which fearing his Brother would kill him, and aſſume the Kingdom, he ſent *Prexaſpes*, one of his principal Confidents, to *Perſia*, with Orders to kill *Smerdis*. *Prexaſpes*, in Purſuance of his Inſtructions put an End to the Life of *Smerdis*; ſome ſay at a Hunting appointed to that purpoſe; Others, that he drown'd him in the *Red Sea*, after he had by his Perſuaſions drawn him thither: And this is accounted the firſt delirious Action of *Cambyſes*. His ſecond, was the Murder of his own Siſter, who had accompanied him into *Ægypt*, and was alſo his Wife. Which was the firſt Example of that Kind among the Perſians; who till that Time had always abſtain'd from ſuch Marriages. But *Cambyſes* being in Love with one of his Siſters, and as deſirous of making her his Wife, as convinc'd of the Novelty of his Deſign, ſummon'd all the Royal Judges together. Theſe Judges are certain choſen Perſians, who continue in their Offices during Life, unleſs they are convicted of a Crime. They decide all Controverſies; interpret the Laws; and all things are referr'd to their Determination. To theſe Perſons *Cambyſes* apply'd himſelf, and having demanded whether they had any Law that permit-

permitted a Man to marry his Siſter, receiv'd this cautious and proper Anſwer: That indeed they could find no Law to permit a Man to marry his Siſter; but were well acquainted with another, which gives a Liberty to the Kings of *Perſia* to do whatever they think convenient. And by this Means they did not abrogate a Law for fear of *Cambyſes*; but that they might not loſe their Lives by a pertinacious Reſiſtance, they found out another in favour of the King, who was ſo deſirous of this Match. Upon their Anſwer *Cambyſes* married the Siſter he lov'd, and a little Time after, another. The Perſon he kill'd was the youngeſt of theſe, who follow'd him into *Ægypt*; and whoſe Death, as well as that of *Smerdis*, is reported two Ways. For the Grecians ſay, that *Cambyſes* having one Day brought a young Dog to the Whelp of a Lyon, diverted himſelf to ſee them fight; and that this Dog being over-match'd, another of the ſame Litter broke looſe, and ran to his Aſſiſtance; by which Means the two Dogs worſted the Lyon: That whilſt *Cambyſes* was pleaſing himſelf with this Entertainment, the young Woman, who ſat by him, began to weep; of which when the King had aſk'd her the Reaſon, ſhe anſwer'd, That ſeeing the little Dog come ſo ſeaſonably to the Succour of his Brother, ſhe could not refrain from Tears, becauſe this Accident put her in mind of the Fate of her Brother *Smerdis*, whoſe Death ſhe knew no Body would revenge: And the Grecians affirm that for theſe Words *Cambyſes* kill'd her. But the Ægyptians ſay, that as they were both at Table, ſhe took a Lettuce, and pulling the Leaves aſunder, aſk'd her Huſband, " Whether an entire

" Lettuce was not more beautiful than one " pull'd in pieces. He anſwer'd, Moſt certain- " ly: Then ſaid ſhe, you have truly repreſent- " ed this broken Lettuce, by diſmembring the " Houſe of *Cyrus*:" That upon theſe Words *Cambyſes* in a Rage ſtruck her with his Foot, and caus'd an Abortion, of which ſhe died. Thus *Cambyſes* exercis'd his Fury, againſt thoſe of his own Family; but whether his Madneſs ſiez'd him for the Death of *Apis*, or from any other Cauſe, may be doubted; becauſe human Nature is ſubject to many Evils. And indeed we are inform'd that *Cambyſes* was afflicted from his Infancy with a convulſive Malady, by ſome call'd the *ſacred Diſeaſe*: And then, no Wonder if his Mind were not ſound in ſo diſtemper'd a Body. Beſides theſe, he was guilty of other outragious Extravagancies againſt the Perſians, and among them againſt *Prexaſpes*; who had always been honour'd by him in an extraordinary Manner; receiv'd all Meſſages in his Name; and had a Son that ſerv'd him as Cupbearer, which is an Office of great Dignity. For when he aſk'd *Prexaſpes* what the Perſians ſaid of him, and what Character they uſually gave him in their familiar Converſations, *Prexaſpes* anſwer'd, " Sir, They highly applaud your " Actions in general; only think you too much " addicted to Wine. How, ſaid *Cambyſes* with " Indignation; the Perſians ſay I overthrow my " Underſtanding and Judgment by drinking Wine " to exceſs? If that be true, they have been " great Diſſemblers". For *Cambyſes* being formerly preſent in a great Aſſembly of Perſians, where *Cræſus* likewiſe aſſiſted; and aſking what Opinion they had of him in Compariſon of his Father

Father *Cyrus*, they told him, he far ſurpaſs'd his Father, becauſe he was not only Maſter of all that *Cyrus* poſſeſs'd, but had added *Ægypt* and the Sea to his Dominions. Nevertheleſs *Crœſus* not approving their Concluſion, ſpoke thus to *Cambyſes*; "Son of *Cyrus*, I cannot per-"ſuade myſelf that thou art equal to thy Fa-"ther: For thou haſt not yet ſuch a Son to "ſucceed thee as he had: Which Words were ſo grateful to *Cambyſes*, that he highly commended the Judgment of *Crœſus*: And on this Occaſion remembering what had paſs'd at that Time, ſaid with Indignation to *Prexaſpes*, "See now, whether the Perſians have ſpoken "the Truth; or are diſtracted themſelves, "when they ſay theſe things of me? For if "I ſhoot this Arrow thro' the Heart of thy "Son, who ſtands there under the Portico, "the Perſians have ſaid nothing to the Purpoſe: "But if I miſs, they have ſpoken the Truth, "and I am mad." He had no ſooner pronounc'd theſe Words, than drawing his Bow, he ſhot an Arrow thro' the Body of the young Man: Then commanding him to be taken up and o-pen'd; and finding the Arrow had pierc'd his Heart, he turn'd about with great Joy, and laughing in the Face of the Father, ſaid, "*Prex-*"*aſpes*, I ſuppoſe thou art now convinc'd that "the Perſians are mad, and not *Cambyſes*. "Tell me; didſt thou ever ſee a Man ſhoot "more juſt than I have done?" But *Prexaſpes* perceiving him to be delirious, and being under great Apprehenſions for his own Life, "Truly, "Sir, ſaid he, I believe a God could not "ſhoot more dexterouſly." At another Time he commanded twelve Perſians of the firſt Rank to be

be ſiez'd and without any juſt Cauſe to be buried alive. But whilſt he was proceeding in this furious Manner, *Cræſus* the Lydian thought fit to admoniſh him in theſe Words. "I beſeech you, SIR, let not Youth and Anger "be ſo prevalent with you; but reſtrain and "moderate your Paſſions. For 'tis the Part of "a wiſe Man, and conducing to your own "Safety to foreſee and prevent Danger. You "have deſtroy'd divers of your own Country-"men upon ſlight Occaſions; and have not "ſpar'd their Children; conſider if you per-"ſiſt in ſuch a Courſe, whether the Perſians "may not rebel. For my own Part I cannot "refrain from giving you this Advice, becauſe "your Father *Cyrus* expreſly commanded me "to put you in Mind of whatever might "be moſt expedient for your Affairs." To this friendly Counſel of *Cræſus*, *Cambyſes* anſwer'd, "How dare you preſume to adviſe "me? As if you had ſo wiſely govern'd your "own Kingdom: 'Twas admirable Counſel "you gave my Father, when you perſuaded "him to paſs the River *Araxes*, and attack the "Maſſagetes, inſtead of permitting them to "enter our Territories as they were willing to "do. You firſt ruin'd yourſelf by your own "ill Government: And then deſtroy'd *Cyrus* by "your ill Advice. But you ſhall not long enjoy "the Pleaſure of that Action: For 'tis more "than Time I ſhould take Occaſion to avenge "his Death." No ſooner had he pronounc'd theſe Words, than he took up his Bow to ſhoot *Cræſus*; but the Lydian ſav'd himſelf by running immediately out of his Preſence. Nevertheleſs *Cambyſes* perceiving the Object of his Fury withdrawn,

drawn, commanded his Officers to ſieze him and put him to Death. But they, who knew his Manner, reſolv'd to conceal *Cræſus*; that if *Cambyſes* ſhould repent of his Raſhneſs, and enquire for him, they might be well rewarded for preſerving his Life; or diſpatch him afterwards, if they ſhould find that *Cambyſes* had neither alter'd his Opinion, nor deſir'd to ſee him. In a little Time the King fail'd not to aſk for *Cræſus*; which the Officers underſtanding, acquainted him that *Cræſus* was ſtill living. "I am very glad, ſaid *Cambyſes*, that he "is alive: But will never forgive thoſe who "ſav'd him." And indeed he made good his Word; for he put them all to Death. Many more Actions of this Nature he did whilſt he ſtaid at *Memphis*, not only againſt the Perſians, but alſo againſt his Confederates. He open'd many ancient Sepulchres to view the Bodies of the Dead; and entring into the Temple of *Vulcan*, derided the Image of the God: Which indeed reſembles thoſe Phœnician Figures that are plac'd on the Prow of their Ships, and called *Patæcians*, not exceeding the Stature of a Pigmy. He likewiſe went into the Temple of the Cabirian Gods, (which no Man except the Prieſt may preſume to enter,) and after he had ridicul'd the Form of their Images, order'd them to be thrown into the Fire; becauſe they were like that of *Vulcan*, from whom they are ſaid to be deſcended. All theſe things convince me that *Cambyſes* was outragiouſly mad: Elſe he would never have attempted to make a Mockery of National Religions and Cuſtoms. For if all Men were left at Liberty to introduce from other Places ſuch Rites and Uſages

Uſages as they ſhould beſt approve; they would yet chuſe to retain their own; every Man being ſtrongly inclin'd to prefer the Manners of his Country before thoſe of any other. That this is the common Sentiment of all Mankind, I could prove by many Inſtances; but ſhall content myſelf with one. *Darius* having aſſembled the Grecians who liv'd under his Empire, aſk'd them for how great a Sum they would oblige themſelves to eat the dead Bodies of their Parents; and they anſwering that nothing was ſufficient to induce them to commit ſo great a Crime; he preſently ſent for certain Indians call'd Callatians, who are accuſtomed to eat the dead Bodies of their Fathers, and demanding in the Preſence of the Grecians and their Interpreters, how much Money they would take to burn their Parents after Death, they made loud Exclamations, and begg'd he would mention ſuch things no more. This is the Effect of Cuſtom: And therefore *Pindar* in my Opinion ſays judiciouſly, *That Cuſtom is the King of all Men.*

WHILST the Arms of *Cambyſes* were employ'd in this Expedition, the Lacedæmonians made War againſt *Samos*; where *Polycrates* had put himſelf at the Head of a Party, and by Violence ſiez'd the Government. He at firſt divided his Acquiſition with his two Brothers *Pantagnotus* and *Syloſon*; but afterwards having put the elder to Death, and expell'd *Syloſon*, who was the younger, he became ſole Maſter of all, and made an Alliance with *Amaſis* King of *Ægypt*; which was confirm'd and cultivated on both ſides by mutual Preſents. His Enterprizes were attended with

ſuch Succeſs, that in a ſhort Time all the Ionian and Grecian Cities were acquainted with his Fame; every thing yielding to the Reputation of his Arms, wherever he determin'd to make War. He had a hundred Gallies of fifty Oars each, and a thouſand Archers. He attack'd all Places without Diſtinction; pretending to do a greater Favour to his Friends by reſtoring what he had taken away, than by leaving them in the quiet Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions. He ſubdued many of the Iſlands; took divers Cities on the Continent; defeated the Lesbians in a Sea-fight, as they were going to aſſiſt the Mileſians with their whole Fleet; and putting them all to the Chain, compell'd them to make the Ditch that ſurrounds the Walls of *Samos*. So many Succeſſes were not unknown to *Amaſis*, and plung'd him into no little Perplexity. But when he heard that their Number increas'd daily, he wrote to *Polycrates* in theſe Terms. "*Amaſis* to *Polycrates*: "I have heard with Pleaſure the fortunate "Succeſſes that attend the Enterprizes of a "Friend and Ally. But the Exceſs of thy Proſ-"perity diſturbs me; becauſe I know how en-"vious the Gods are. As for me, I would ra-"ther chuſe, that my Affairs and thoſe of my "Friends ſhould alternately participate of good "and bad Fortune thro' the whole Courſe of "Life, than be always accompanied with un-"interrupted Felicity. For I cannot remember "that I ever heard of a Man, who having "been always happy, did not at laſt periſh by "ſome ſignal Calamity. Be advis'd therefore by "me; and fence againſt good Fortune in "this Manner: Conſider what you value at a

"high

" high Rate, and would be much concern'd " to loſe: Deprive yourſelf of this precious " thing ſo effectually, that it may be utterly " loſt: And if your Proſperities ſtill continue " without other Viciſſitude, repeat the Reme- " dy which you have now from me." When *Polycrates* had read this Letter, and attentively conſider'd the Matter, he approv'd the Counſel of *Amaſis*; and deliberating with himſelf, which of all his Treaſures he could not abandon without a moſt ſenſible Reluctancy, came at laſt to this Reſolution: He had a Signet made of an Emerald, ſet in Gold by the Hand of *Theodorus* the Son of *Telecles* the Samian; and this he determin'd to loſe in the following Manner. He went on board a Galley of fifty Oars compleatly mann'd, commanding the Mariners to put off; and when he ſaw they had advanc'd to a conſiderable Diſtance from the Iſland, he took the Jewel in his Hand, and in the Preſence of all the Company threw it into the Sea. This done, he commanded them to carry him back, and at his Return was not a little diſturb'd for his Loſs. But on the fifth or ſixth Day after, a certain Fiſherman having taken a large and beautiful Fiſh, and thinking it a Preſent worthy of *Polycrates*, went to the Gates of his Palace, and deſir'd Admiſſion: Which being granted, he preſented the Fiſh to the King, and ſaid, " Tho' I get my Living by hard La- " bour; yet I could not perſuade myſelf to " carry this Fiſh, which I have taken, to the " Market, becauſe I thought it a fit Preſent for " a King." *Polycrates* pleas'd with theſe Words, commended the Man; and having thank'd him, as well for his Compliment as for the Fiſh, invited

vited him to Dinner. The Fiſherman receiv'd theſe Favours with great Joy, and went away to his own Habitation. In the mean Time the Servants opening the Fiſh, ſaw the Signet lodged in the Belly; and when they had taken it out, haſten'd with much Satisfaction to *Polycrates*, reſtor'd the Jewel, and acquainted him in what Manner they had found it. *Polycrates* perſuaded that the Event was divine, wrote down what he had done, as well as what had happen'd to him afterwards, and ſent the whole Account to *Ægypt*. By which *Amaſis* being convinc'd that no Man can deliver another from the Effects of a fatal Decree, and that the Life of *Polycrates* would not terminate in ſuch Proſperity as had attended his Actions ſo conſtantly that he recover'd even thoſe things which he deſign'd to loſe, ſent a Herald to *Samos* with Orders to renounce his Friendſhip, and diſſolve all Obligations of Hoſpitality that had been contracted between them; leſt the future Calamities of *Polycrates* ſhould affect him with that Grief which Men owe to the Misfortunes of a Friend.

AGAINST this *Polycrates*, ſo univerſally happy in all his Affairs, the Lacedæmonians prepar'd to make War, at the Solicitation of thoſe Samians who afterwards founded the City of *Cydonia* in *Crete*. But *Polycrates*, being inform'd of their Deſign, ſent a Meſſenger privately to *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus*, as he was preparing to invade *Ægypt*; with Inſtructions to deſire him to demand ſome Aſſiſtance of the Samians. Which when *Cambyſes* heard, he readily diſpatch'd a Meſſage to *Polycrates*, deſiring he would furniſh a Fleet to aſſiſt him in his Ægyptian Expedition.

Upon this Demand *Polycrates* drew out all thoſe he ſuſpected of ſeditious Deſigns, and ſent them with forty Gallies to *Cambyſes*, requeſting him at the ſame Time that he would not permit them to return to *Samos*. Some affirm that theſe Samians never arriv'd in *Ægypt*; but in their Paſſage thro' the Carpathian Sea, calling a Council of War, came to a Reſolution not to proceed farther in their Voyage: Others ſay, that they arriv'd in *Ægypt*; but finding themſelves obſerv'd and under Guard, they took an Opportunity to make their Eſcape, and in their Return to *Samos* met the Fleet of *Polycrates*, which they defeated, and landed ſafely in their own Country; where they fought an unſucceſsful Battle by Land, and afterwards ſet Sail for *Lacedæmon*. Yet ſome pretend they had the Victory in this Action alſo; but I think their Opinion is groundleſs. For they could not have been under a Neceſſity of imploring the Aid of the Lacedæmonians, if they had found themſelves able to reſiſt the Forces of *Polycrates*. Beſides, 'tis repugnant to Reaſon to imagine that one who had a numerous Army of foreign Mercenaries in his Pay, and ſuch a Body of Samian Bowmen, ſhould be beaten by ſo unequal a Number as thoſe were who return'd from *Ægypt*: Eſpecially if we conſider, that *Polycrates* to prevent Treachery, had brought together the Wives and Children of all the Samians into the Arſenal of the Navy; reſolving to burn them together with the Naval Stores, if he ſhould find himſelf betray'd to the returning Exiles.

THESE Samians, thus expell'd by *Polycrates*, arriv'd in *Sparta*; and coming before the Senate, implor'd their Aſſiſtance in many Words, and with preſſing

preſſing Inſtances. But at this firſt Audience, the Lacedæmonians gave them no other Anſwer than that they had forgotten the firſt Part of their Speech, and therefore could not comprehend the laſt. At their ſecond Appearance, the Samians caus'd an empty Baſket to be brought in, and only ſaid, There was no Bread: Upon which the Lacedæmonians anſwer'd, That the Baſket might have been ſufficient to declare their Wants; and immediately decreed to aſſiſt them. When all things were ready for the Expedition, the Lacedæmonians tranſported their Army to *Samos*, in Requital, as the Samians pretend, for the Aſſiſtance they formerly had from *Samos*, when they were engaged in a War againſt the Meſſenians; tho' the Lacedæmonians ſay, they did not undertake this Enterprize out of good Will to the Samians; but to revenge themſelves of that People for intercepting the Baſon they ſent to *Cræſus*, and robbing them the Year before of a curious Pectoral which *Amaſis* King of *Ægypt* had ſent to them. This Pectoral was made of Linen adorn'd with many Figures of Animals woven into the Work, and enrich'd with Gold and Variety of Colours: The Chain is of admirable Artifice, fine and ſlender, tho' conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty diſtinct Threads. Such another is ſeen at *Lindus*, preſented to *Minerva* by the ſame *Amaſis*. The Corinthians were eaſily induc'd to take Part in this War; becauſe they alſo had been injur'd by the Samians in the preceding Age. For when *Periander* the Son of *Cypſelus* had ſent three hundred Youths, born of the nobleſt Families of *Corcyra* to *Alyattes* King of *Sardis*, that they might

be made Eunuchs: And the Corinthian Ships, which tranſported them, were already arriv'd at *Samos*; the Samians, who were not ignorant of the Deſign of this Voyage, in the firſt place inſtructed the Boys to take Sanctuary in the Temple of *Diana*, forbidding the Corinthians to uſe any violent Means to remove them, becauſe they were under the Protection of the Goddeſs: And when the Corinthians refus'd to give them Subſiſtance, the Samians on their Account inſtituted a Feſtival, which they obſerve to this Day. For at Night, whilſt the Suppliants were in the Temple, they aſſembled the young Men and Virgins to dance; and order'd them to carry about certain Cakes made of Flower and Honey, that the Corcyræan Youths might ſnatch them out of their Hands, and by this Means ſuſtain themſelves: Which Practice they continued, till the Corinthians weary of attending, thought fit to depart from *Samos*; and were no ſooner gone, than the Samians ſent Home the Boys to *Corcyra*. Now if the Corinthians had liv'd in Amity with the Corcyræans after the Death of *Periander*, they would not have taken Part with the Lacedæmonians againſt *Samos* on this Occcaſion: But indeed from the firſt peopling of that Iſland, their Diſſenſions have been perpetual. The Corinthians therefore not forgetting the Uſage they receiv'd at *Samos*, join'd their Forces to the Lacedæmonians. As for *Periander*, the Reaſon he had to ſend the Sons of the principal Men of *Corcyra* to *Sardis*, with the Deſign I have mentioned was this. When he had kill'd his Wife *Meliſſa*, he found that Calamity attended by another. She left him two Sons, one of ſeventeen

venteen, and another of eighteen Years of Age. Theſe young Men *Procles* Tyrant of *Epidaurus*, their Grandfather, by the Mother, ſent for to his Court, and careſs'd with that Tenderneſs which is uſually ſhewn to the Children of a Daughter. And when he diſmiſs'd them ſaid, "You know "who kill'd your Mother." The Elder made no Reflexion on theſe Words; But the Younger, whoſe Name was *Lycophron*, returning to *Corinth* full of Reſentment, and deteſting the Murderer of his Mother, diſdain'd either to ſpeak to his Father, or make any Anſwer to the Queſtions he aſk'd: 'Till at laſt *Periander* in great Anger turn'd him out of his Houſe; and afterwards enquir'd of the elder Brother what Diſcourſes they had heard from their Grandfather. He acquainted him that they had been receiv'd by *Procles* in the kindeſt Manner; not at all mentioning the Words he ſaid at their Departure: Becauſe they had made no Impreſſion on his Mind. But *Periander* inſiſting that their Grandfather had undoubtedly given him ſome Inſtructions, ply'd him ſo long with Queſtions, that in the End the young Man recover'd his Memory, and repeated the Words to his Father: Which he having attentively conſider'd; and reſolving to treat his Son without the leaſt Indulgence, ſent to the Perſons that had given him Reception, forbidding them to harbour him for the future. *Lycophron* being remov'd from this Houſe retir'd to another; from whence upon the Menaces and poſitive Commands of *Periander*, he was expell'd in like Manner. But betaking himſelf to a third, he was receiv'd as the Son of *Periander*, tho' the Perſons concern'd were not without Fear of his

Diſpleaſure. At laſt *Periander* by an Edict commanded all Men to abſtain from receiving him, or converſing with him, under Penalty of a certain Fine to be applied to the Temple of *Apollo*. After which every one declining his Preſence and Converſation, he reſolv'd to retire into the publick Porticoes, without making any farther Trial of his Friends in ſuch deſperate Circumſtances. But on the fourth Day after this Reſolution, *Periander* finding him disfigured by Want and Naſtineſs, began to relent, and approaching him with Compaſſion, ſaid; "Son, "Art thou better pleas'd with this miſera- "ble way of living, than to qualify thyſelf "by obeying me, to enjoy all the Power and "Riches I poſſeſs? Thou, who art my Son, "and a King in the rich City of *Corinth*, haſt "choſen a vagabond Life by diſobeying and "irritating me contrary to thy Duty: For "that Misfortune, which ſo highly diſturbs "thee, has fallen more heavily on me; be- "cauſe the Fact was perpetrated by myſelf. "Therefore as I doubt not that thou haſt ſuffi- "ciently learnt how much better 'tis to be envi- "ed than pitied, and how prejudicial to provoke "a Parent and a powerful Man, I give thee "Leave to return Home." Such was the Admonition of *Periander* to his Son. But *Lycophron* return'd no other Anſwer to his Father, than that he had incurr'd the Penalty of his own Edict by ſpeaking to him. So that *Periander* perceiving the Obſtinacy of his Son to be inſuperable and without Remedy, remov'd him out of his Sight, and ſent him by Sea to *Corcyra*, which was a Part of his Dominions. After the Departure of *Lycophron*, *Periander* made War againſt his

his Father-in-Law *Procles*, as the principal Author of these Troubles; forc'd the City of *Epidaurus*, and took *Procles* Prisoner at the same Time. At length growing old, and perceiving he could no longer attend the Administration of publick Affairs, he sent for *Lycophron* from *Corcyra* to take the Government upon him, because he found his eldest Son stupid and uncapable; but *Lycophron* would not vouchsafe to give Audience to the Messenger. Nevertheless *Periander* still fond of the young Man, sent another Message to him by his own Daughter, who was Sister to *Lycophron*; thinking she might persuade him to return. At her Arrival she spoke to him in these Terms; "Child, said she, "Hadst thou rather see thy Father's Dominions "fall into the Hands of others, and our Fa- "mily utterly destroy'd than return to *Corinth* "and take Possession of all? Come away from "this Place, and cease to punish thyself. Ob- "stinacy is an inauspicious Quality: Think not "to cure one Evil by another. Many have "preferr'd Equity before the Rigour of Ju- "stice; and many have lost their paternal In- "heritance by pursuing a maternal Claim. A "Tyranny is an uncertain Possession, and cour- "ted by numerous Pretenders. Thy Father, "is old, and infirm: Let nothing therefore "prevail with thee to abandon to others the "Advantages which belong to thyself." Thus she press'd him with these Exhortations, as she had been instructed by her Father. But *Lycophron* refusing to comply, assur'd her he would never return to *Corinth* so long as he should hear his Father was living. With this Answer she departed, and having inform'd *Periander* of

what had paſs'd he ſent a third Meſſage by a Herald to acquaint his Son, that he himſelf deſign'd to retire to *Corcyra*; and commanded him to return, in order to take immediate Poſſeſſion of the Government. To this Propoſition *Lycophron* conſented; and as *Periander* was preparing to remove to *Corcyra*, and his Son to *Corinth*, the Corcyræans inform'd of the Deſign, and unwilling to receive *Periander* into their Country, kill'd the young Man: And this was the Cauſe that mov'd *Periander* to revenge himſelf againſt the Corcyræans.

The Lacedæmonians arriving with a great Fleet, beſieg'd *Samos*; and advancing towards the Wall, paſs'd by a Fort which was built upon the Shore near the Suburbs: But *Polycrates* at the Head of a conſiderable Force falling upon their Army, compell'd them to retire. Soon after, a good Body of Samians, in Conjunction with their Auxiliary Forces ſallied out from another Tower, which ſtands on the Ridge of a Hill, and attack'd the Lacedæmonians; but fled away after a ſhort Diſpute, and were purſu'd with great Slaughter: And if all the Lacedæmonians who were in that Action, had behav'd themſelves as well as *Archias* and *Lycopes*, *Samos* had been taken that Day. For theſe two Men alone of all thoſe who purſu'd the Samians, enter'd the City at their Heels, and finding all Hopes of retreating cut off, died valiantly fighting within the Walls. I remember to have ſeen one *Archias*, the Son of another of that Name, and Grandſon to this *Archias*, in *Pitane*; for he was of that Tribe. This Perſon eſteem'd the Samians above all other Strangers, and ſaid, that the Surname of Samian was given to his Father, becauſe he

was Son to that *Archias* who fell ſo gloriouſly at *Samos*; and that he himſelf ſhould always pay a peculiar Reſpect to the Samians, becauſe they had honour'd the Memory of his Grandfather with a magnificent Funeral at the Publick Charge. The Lacedæmonians, after they had been forty Days before *Samos*, and done little towards the Reduction of that Place, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd to *Peloponneſus*; tho' a groundleſs Report has been rais'd, that *Polycrates* having caus'd a great Number of Pieces made of guilded Lead to be coin'd, purchas'd their Departure with that Money. This was the firſt Expedition the Dorians undertook againſt *Aſia*, under the Conduct of the Lacedæmonians: After whoſe Departure, thoſe Samians who had brought this War upon *Polycrates*, finding themſelves abandon'd, and their Treaſures exhauſted, ſet ſail for *Siphnus*. The Affairs of the Siphnians were then in a flouriſhing Condition, and their Riches immenſe; the Iſland ſo abounding in Mines of Gold and Silver, that the Tenth of the Money they coin'd, tranſported to *Delphi*, made up a Treaſure equal to the greateſt: And they never fail'd once every Year to divide the Riches they drew from their Mines. When the Siphnians had amaſs'd theſe Treaſures, they conſulted the Oracle, to know if their Proſperity ſhould long continue, and receiv'd this Anſwer from the Pythian,

When publick Structures ſhould be cloath'd in White,
A wiſe Man's Care ſhould fence againſt the Rage
Of wooden Troops, and Red Ambaſſadors.

The

The Prytanean Court and Piazza of *Siphnus*, were at that Time adorn'd with white Parian Marble. Yet the Siphnians could not comprehend the Intention of the Oracle, either before, or upon the Landing of the Samians; tho' immediately after their Arrival they ſent an Embaſſy to the City in one of their Ships, which according to the Samian Faſhion was colour'd over with Red. And this was the thing meant by the Pythian, when ſhe forewarn'd the Siphnians to beware of a wooden Force and red Ambaſſadors. Theſe Samians being admitted to an Audience, deſir'd a Loan of ten Talents; but receiving a Denial, return'd to their Companions, and ravag'd the Territories of *Siphnus*. Upon which the Siphnians drawing all their Forces together, fought a Battle, and were defeated by the Samians; who took many Priſoners in the Purſuit, by cutting off their Retreat to the City; and receiv'd one hundred Talents for their Ranſom. In the next Place, the Samians ſail'd to *Hermione*, and inſtead of Money, receiv'd the Iſland of *Thyrea*, ſituate near *Peloponneſus*, which they committed to the Care of the Trœzenians: And afterwards landing in *Crete*, founded the City of *Cydonia*; tho' they came not thither with that Intention, but only to expel the Zacynthians out of the Iſland. Five Years they continued in this Settlement, attended with ſuch Proſperity, that they built the Temple of *Dictyna*, and all other Temples which remain to this Time in *Cydonia*. But in the ſixth Year, they, together with the Cretans, were entirely defeated in a Sea-battle, and utterly ſubdued by the Æginetes; who took off the Prows of their Ships, and

and dedicated them in the Temple of *Minerva*. The People of *Ægina* took this terrible Revenge, in Requital for the War, which the Samians under the Conduct of their King *Amphicrates* had made againſt them, and which had reduc'd both ſides to great Extremities. I have been more particular in relating the Affairs of the Samians, becauſe they have three things more conſiderable than are ſeen in any other Parts among the Grecians. They have open'd a Way thro' a Mountain, one hundred and fifty Fathom high. The Length of this Paſſage, which pierces the Hill from one ſide to the other, contains full ſeven Stades; and the Height and Breadth, eight Foot each. A Canal twenty Cubits deep, and three Foot broad, runs quite along the ſide of the Aperture, and ſerves to convey the Water of a plentiful Spring into the City, thro' various Pipes. *Eupalinus* of *Megara*, the Son of *Nauſtrophus*, was the Contriver and Director of this Work. The ſecond thing worthy to be obſerv'd is a Mole of one hundred and twenty Foot in Height, embracing the Harbour, and advancing above two Stades into the Sea. The third, is a Temple, greater than all thoſe I ever ſaw; and of which the principal Architect was *Rhœcus*, the Son of *Phileus*, a Native of *Samos*. Theſe things have induc'd me to enlarge my Diſcourſe concerning the Samians.

WHILST *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus* continu'd delirious in *Ægypt*, two of the Mages, who were Brothers, conſpir'd againſt him. One of theſe, whoſe Name was *Patizithes*, had been by *Cambyſes* made Governour of his Houſhold during his Abſence. This Perſon being well inform'd of the

the Death of *Smerdis*, which was kept private, and known to few of the Perſians, (who, for the moſt Part thought him ſtill alive,) undertook to invade the Throne in the following Mannner. He had a Brother, as I ſaid, for his Accomplice; in Shape and Mien perfectly reſembling *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, who had been murder'd by *Cambyſes*; and bearing the ſame Name. This Man *Patizithes* inſtructed in the Part he was to act: And when he had plac'd him in the Throne ſent Heralds to all Places, and particularly to the Army in *Ægypt*, commanding them for the future to acknowledge *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* as King of *Perſia*, and no longer to obey *Cambyſes*. The Heralds every where perform'd their Office; and he who was diſpatch'd to *Ægypt*, finding *Cambyſes* with his Forces at *Ecbatana* in *Syria*, plac'd himſelf in the Midſt of the Army, and openly proclaim'd the Orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyſes*, who was preſent at the Proclamation, believing the Words of the Herald to be true, and imagining *Prexaſpes* had treacherouſly omitted to execute the Order he gave him to kill *Smerdis*, turn'd to him in Anger and ſaid, "*Prexaſpes*, Thou haſt not obey'd my "Command." To which *Prexaſpes* anſwer'd, "Sir, The Words you have heard are falſe: "Your Brother *Smerdis* cannot rebel againſt "you; neither can you have any Diſpute, "great or ſmall, with him. I myſelf put "your Order in Execution, and buried him "with my own Hands. If indeed dead Men "can riſe again, then we may expect another "Rebellion from *Aſtyages* the Mede: But if the "Courſe of things be not alter'd, you have no-

"thing

" thing to fear from your Brother. However " I am of Opinion we ought to purſue the " Herald and examine; who ſent him to com- " mand us to obey King *Smerdis*." *Cambyſes* approving his Advice, commanded the Herald to be purſued; and when he was brought back, *Prexaſpes*, ſaid to him; " Man, Since " thou ſay'ſt thou art the Meſſenger of *Smerdis* " the Son of *Cyrus*, ſpeak the Truth, and thou " ſhalt be diſmiſs'd with Impunity. Did'ſt thou " ſee *Smerdis*, and receive theſe Orders from his " Mouth; or from any one of his Miniſters? " Truly, anſwer'd the Herald, I have not ſeen " *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* ſince *Cambyſes* de- " parted for *Ægypt*: But the Mage, whom he " appointed Governor of his Domeſtick Affairs, " gave me theſe Orders, and told me that *Smer-* " *dis* the Son of *Cyrus* commanded me to pub- " liſh them here." This was the plain Truth; and ſatisfied *Cambyſes* ſo fully, that, turning to *Prexaſpes*, he ſaid, " I am now convinc'd " that thou did'ſt obey my Command like an " honeſt Man; and haſt no Part in this Event: " But what Perſian can this be, who has re- " volted againſt me, and aſſum'd the Name of " *Smerdis*? O King, replied *Prexaſpes*, I think " I underſtand the Intrigue: The Conſpira- " tors are the two Mages, *Patizithes* Go- " vernor of the Houſhold, and his Brother " *Smerdis*." The mention of that Name deeply affected *Cambyſes*, and reviv'd the Memory of his Dream; in which he had ſeen a Meſſenger, who came to acquaint him, that *Smerdis* was plac'd in the Royal Throne, and touch'd the Heavens with his Head. Reflecting how unjuſtly he had deſtroy'd his Brother, he wept; and

and after he had lamented him, and bitterly complain'd of his own Calamity, he mounted his Horſe, with a Reſolution to return in all Diligence to *Suſa*, and make War againſt the Mage. But as he mounted his Horſe, his Sword fell out of the Scabbard, and wounded him on the Thigh, in that Part where he had formerly ſtruck the Ægyptian God *Apis*. *Cambyſes* being thus wounded aſk'd the Name of the City, and was inform'd that the Place was call'd *Ecbatana*. He had formerly receiv'd an Oracle from *Butus*, that he ſhould end his Life in the City of *Ecbatana*; and therefore imagin'd he ſhould dye an old Man in the Place of that Name in *Media*, where all his Treaſures were; but the Oracle meant no other than the Syrian *Ecbatana*. Thus having heard the Name of the City; tho' vex'd with the Injury of the Mage, and afflicted with his Wound, he recover'd his Underſtanding; and rightly interpreting the Senſe of the Oracle, ſaid, "Fate has decreed "that *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus* ſhall dye in "this Place." Theſe Words he ſaid at that Time; and about twenty Days after, having aſſembled all the principal Men of the Perſians who were with him, he ſpoke to them in theſe Terms. "I am neceſſitated to acquaint you "with a thing, which above all others I de- "ſir'd to conceal. When I was in *Ægypt* I "ſaw a Viſion in a Dream, which I wiſh I "had never ſeen, repreſenting a Meſſenger ar- "riv'd from *Perſia* with Tydings, that *Smer- "dis* was ſeated on the Royal Throne, and "touch'd the Heavens with his Head. Induc'd "by this Dream I fear'd my Brother would de- "prive me of the Kingdom, and acted with

"more

" more Precipitation than Prudence: For no
" human Power is able to fruſtrate the Decrees
" of Fate. I fooliſhly ſent *Prexaſpes* to *Suſa*
" with Orders to kill *Smerdis*; and have liv'd
" in the profoundeſt Security ſince the Execu-
" tion of that Crime; not at all ſuſpecting
" that any Mortal would rebel againſt me, after
" I had remov'd him out of the World. But I
" find myſelf utterly miſtaken; I have mur-
" der'd my Brother in vain, and nevertheleſs am
" depriv'd of the Kingdom. For the God, who
" ſent me that Viſion, meant no other Perſon
" than *Smerdis* the Mage, when he admoniſh'd
" me that *Smerdis* would invade my Throne.
" Since then I have inform'd you that I am
" guilty of this Crime, you are not to imagine
" that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* is living; but
" that two Mages (I mean *Patizithes* and
" *Smerdis*) have taken Poſſeſſion of the King-
" dom: The firſt of theſe I appointed Gover-
" nour of my Houſhold during my Abſence,
" and the other is Brother to him. Now be-
" cauſe he, who of right ſhould have reveng'd
" the Indignity I ſuffer from the Mages, is pre-
" vented by the Inhumanity of his neareſt Re-
" lation; I think myſelf oblig'd in this Exi-
" gency to let you know what I would have
" you do for me after my Death. In the firſt
" Place I command, by the Gods of the Royal
" Family adjure you all, eſpecially thoſe among
" you who are of the Achæmenian Blood,
" never to permit the Government to return
" into the Hands of the Medes: And if at any
" Time they ſhould uſurp the ſupreme Power
" by Artifice, to uſe the like Means to reco-
" ver it; or if they ſhould acquire the Do-

" minion by Arms, then likewiſe to wreſt it " from them by Arms. On this Condition, " may the Earth furniſh you with uninterrupted " Plenty; may your Wives bring you many " Children; your Herds and Flocks increaſe; " and your Liberty remain inviolable for ever. " But if you neglect to preſerve or recover " your Superiority over the Medes, may the " contrary Imprecations overtake you, and " every one of the Perſians end his Life as un- " happily as I." When *Cambyſes* had finiſh'd theſe Words, he again paſſionately lamented the Death of *Smerdis*; and all the Perſians ſeeing their King ſo deeply afflicted, wept abundantly, and tore their Garments in Pieces. But in a little Time his Wound corrupting the Bone, caus'd a Mortification in his Thigh, and put an End to the Life of *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus*, after he had reign'd ſeven Years and five Months; having never had any Children of either Sex. He was no ſooner dead, than the Perſians who had accompanied him, began to enter into a violent Suſpicion, that whatever he had ſaid concerning the Uſurpation of the Mages and the Death of his Brother, was fictitious, and contriv'd by *Cambyſes* with Deſign to render all the Perſians Enemies to *Smerdis*. This Incredulity eaſily wrought them into a Perſuaſion, that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* was really the Perſon who had taken Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom: And *Prexaſpes* contributed not a little to this Deluſion, by denying utterly that he had kill'd *Smerdis*. For indeed, after the Death of *Cambyſes* he could not ſafely own, that he had murder'd the Son of *Cyrus* with his own Hand.

The Mage *Smerdis*, by pretending to be the Son of *Cyrus*, reign'd without Diſturbance during the ſeven Months that remain'd to compleat the eighth Year of *Cambyſes*; in which Time he treated the People with ſuch Beneficence, that all the Nations of *Aſia*, the Perſians only excepted, expreſs'd their Sorrow at his Death. For upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, he diſpatch'd Orders thro' all Parts of his Dominions, to proclaim a general Exemption from Tribute and Military Services for the Space of three Years. But in the eighth Month he was diſcover'd in this Manner. *Otanes* the Son of *Pharnaſpes*, a Man equal to the greateſt of the Perſians both in Fortune and Blood, was the firſt who ſuſpected him to be an Impoſtor, and not the Son of *Cyrus*; becauſe he never went out of the Caſtle, nor admitted any of the principal Men of *Perſia* to his Preſence. In this Suſpicion he contriv'd the following Artifice, in order to diſcover the Truth. His Daughter *Phædyma* had been one of the Wives of *Cambyſes*, and was kept, as all the reſt were, for the Uſe of *Smerdis*. To her therefore he ſent a Meſſage, to acquaint her, that he deſir'd to know, whether the Perſon ſhe lay with, was *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, or ſome other Man: And receiving for Anſwer, that having never ſeen *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, ſhe could not inform him with whom ſhe lay; he ſent to her a ſecond Time to deſire, that ſince ſhe could not reſolve his Doubt, ſhe would aſk *Atoſſa*, who he was that lay with both; being fully perſuaded that ſhe muſt of Neceſſity know her own Brother. But his Daughter let him know, that ſhe was not permitted to ſpeak to

Atoſſa, or to ſee any of the other Women; becauſe the King, whoever he was, had from the Beginning of his Reign diſpers'd all his Wives into diſtinct and ſeparate Apartments. This Anſwer much increaſing the Suſpicion of *Otanes*, he ſent a third Meſſage to *Phædyma* in theſe Words. "Daugther, Being deſcended of an "illuſtrious Family, you ought to undertake "the moſt hazardous Enterprize, in Obedience "to the Commands of your Father. If this "*Smerdis* is not the Son of *Cyrus*, but the "Perſon I ſuſpect him to be; he is ſo far "from being worthy to poſſeſs the Perſian King-"dom, or your Perſon, that he ought not to "eſcape without exemplary Puniſhment. Fol-"low therefore my Advice; and when you lye "by him, and perceive him to ſleep, carry your "Hand to his Head, and if you find he has "Ears, be aſſur'd he is the Son of *Cyrus*; "but if he has none, he can be no other than "*Smerdis* the Mage." To this Meſſage *Phædyma* anſwer'd, that the Danger was exceeding great; becauſe if the King had no Ears, and ſhould ſurprize her endeavouring to find out ſuch a Truth, he would not fail to kill her: Nevertheleſs ſhe would make the Attempt, and take upon her to ſatisfy the Doubt of her Father touching this *Smerdis*, (whoſe Ears had been formerly cut off, for a Reaſon of Importance, by *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyſes*.) In Purſuance therefore of her Promiſe, *Phædyma* the Daughter of *Otanes*, carefully executed the Orders of her Father; and going in her Turn to the King's Bed, as the Manner of the Perſian Women is, ſhe no ſooner perceiv'd him to ſleep profoundly, than ſhe eaſily diſcover'd by her Hand

that the Man had no Ears; and early the next Morning ſent an Account to her Father of what ſhe had done. *Otanes* having receiv'd this Information, communicated the whole Affair to *Gobrias* and *Aſpathines*, Perſians of the firſt Rank, and of undoubted Honour: Who, becauſe they had entertain'd the ſame Suſpicion before readily aſſented to the Judgment made by *Otanes*, and came to an Agreement with him, that each of the three ſhould nominate one of his moſt truſty Friends among the Perſians, to be admitted to a Participation of their Counſels. Purſuant to this Reſolution, *Otanes* made Choice of *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas* of *Megabyſus*, and *Aſpathines* of *Hydarnes*. In the mean Time *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* arriving in *Suſa* from *Perſia*, where his Father was Governour, the ſix Perſians reſolv'd to admit him into their Society. And now being ſeven in Number, they met together; and after mutual Aſſurances of Fidelity, enter'd into a Debate touching the thing in queſtion. But when *Darius* came to ſpeak in his Turn; he ſaid, "I thought no Man, ex- "cept myſelf, had known that the Kingdom "is uſurp'd by a Mage, and that *Smerdis* the "Son of *Cyrus* is dead: And therefore I came to "this Place with a Reſolution to kill the U- "ſurper. But ſince I find that you alſo are "inform'd of this Indignity, my Opinion is, "to diſpatch the Enterprize with all Expedi- "tion, becauſe Delays in ſuch a Conjuncture are "not ſafe. Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, ſaid *Otanes*, thou "art born of a magnanimous Father, and thy "Courage is not inferior to thy Birth; yet for- "bear to act inconſiderately, and attempt no- "thing without due Caution: For I think we

" ought not to undertake this Enterprize with-
" out augmenting our Number." *Darius* replied,
" Believe me, Friends, if you follow the Ad-
" vice of *Otanes*, you will all inevitably periſh:
" For one or other will not fail to diſcover the
" Conſpiracy to the Mage for private Advantage:
" And indeed you alone, who firſt form'd the
" Deſign, ought to have put it in Execution im-
" mediately: But ſince you have thought fit to
" communicate your Intentions to a greater
" Number, and to me among others; let us
" make the Attempt this Day; or be aſſur'd,
" that if you let go the preſent Occaſion, I
" will prevent any other from accuſing me, and
" accuſe you all to the Mage." *Otanes* perceiv-
ing *Darius* ſo preſſing; " Since then, ſaid he,
" we are neceſſitated to precipitate our Enter-
" prize, and not permitted to defer the Execu-
" tion, pray tell us in what Manner we ſhall
" enter the Palace; which, as you know, or
" at leaſt have heard, is defended by Guards
" plac'd in all the Paſſages; and I deſire to be
" inform'd how we ſhall force them." *Darius*
anſwer'd, " Some things, *Otanes*, may be ex-
" plain'd by Action, that cannot be demon-
" ſtrated in Words; while other things, which
" ſeem eaſy in Diſcourſe, produce no conſi-
" derable Effect in the Execution. No Man
" here can imagine that we ſhall find any great
" Difficulty in paſſing the Guards; becauſe
" our Quality is ſuch, that every one either
" from a Motive of Reverence or Dread will
" preſently give us Way. Beſides, I am fur-
" niſh'd with a Pretext which cannot fail to re-
" move all Obſtructions: For I will ſay I come
" directly from *Perſia* and bring a Meſſage

" to the King from my Father. Falſhood " may take Place, when Truth ought not to " be ſpoken, and when Men aim at the ſame " thing by both. Some make uſe of an Un- " truth, in order to perſuade to advantageous " things; whilſt others on the contrary ſpeak " the Truth, that they may obtain the ſame " End: And thus by different Ways we com- " paſs the ſame Deſigns. But if we ſucceed not " there will be little Difference between Truth " and Falſhood. As for the Guards, they " who willingly permit us to paſs, ſhall be " rewarded in due Time; but whoever offers " to reſiſt, muſt be treated as an Enemy; till " we have forc'd our Paſſage, and finiſh'd our En- " terprize." To this *Gobryas* added, " Friends, " 'twill be more glorious for us Perſians to re- " cover the Sovereign Power, or dye in the " Attempt, than to be ſubject to a Mage of " *Media* without Ears. Thoſe among you, " who attended *Cambyſes* during his Sickneſs, " well remember the Imprecations he utter'd " at the Point of Death againſt the Perſians, if " they ſhould neglect to uſe their utmoſt En- " deavours to repoſſeſs themſelves of the King- " dom; tho' his Diſcourſe made little Impreſ- " ſion upon us at that Time, becauſe we ima- " gin'd he ſpoke out of Hatred to his Bro- " ther. Therefore I concur with the Opinion " of *Darius*, and think we ought not to ſepa- " rate under any Pretext; but immediately up- " on the breaking up of this Meeting go directly " to the Mage:" Which Propoſal was unani- mouſly approv'd.

WHILST they were concerting this Attempt, the Mages conſulted together, and contriv'd to

engage *Prexaſpes* in their Intereſts; as well becauſe he had been ill us'd by *Cambyſes*, who ſhot his Son dead with an Arrow; as becauſe he alone of all the Perſians knew certainly that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* was not living; having diſpatch'd him with his own Hand: And beſides this, he had acquir'd a general Eſteem among the Perſians. For theſe Reaſons they ſent to *Prexaſpes*, and having obtain'd a Promiſe of his Friendſhip, they oblig'd him to give his Word confirm'd by an Oath, that he would be ſilent, and never diſcover to any Man the Fraud they had put upon the Perſians: Aſſuring him in Conſideration of this Service, they would add Millions to his preſent Riches. When the Mages had perſuaded *Prexaſpes* to promiſe the Performance of theſe things, they acquainted him farther, that having determin'd to aſſemble all the Perſians under the Walls of the Palace they deſir'd he would aſcend a certain Tower, and from thence publickly proclaim, That *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* and no other Perſon was the King then reigning. This Command they laid upon him, becauſe they not only knew he was a Man of principal Authority among the Perſians; but alſo that he had frequently affirm'd with great Aſſeveration, that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* was ſtill living, and utterly denied that he had kill'd him. The Mages having thus induc'd *Prexaſpes* to take upon him this Office, and ſummon'd the Perſians together, commanded him to mount the Tower and from thence to harangue the Aſſembly. But he, willing to forget the Words they had deſir'd him to ſpeak, began his Diſcourſe with the Genealogy of *Cyrus*, which he deduc'd from

Achæ-

Achæmenes in the male Line; and afterwards put them in mind of the great Benefits the Perſian Nation had receiv'd from that King. When he had finiſh'd this Part, he confeſs'd the whole Truth; and told them, that the Apprehenſions he had of the Hazards he muſt inevitably run by publiſhing the Fraud, had conſtrain'd him to conceal it ſo long; but now ſeeing the Neceſſity of diſcovering the Secret, he acknowledg'd, that he had been compell'd by *Cambyſes* to take away the Life of *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and that the preſent Poſſeſſor of the Kingdom was no other than a Mage. Then fulminating many Imprecations againſt the Perſians, if they ſhould neglect to recover the Sovereignty and puniſh the Mages, he precipitated himſelf headlong from the Tower. Thus died *Prexaſpes*, a Man highly eſteem'd during the Courſe of his whole Life.

In the mean Time the ſeven Perſians having determin'd to execute their Deſign againſt the Mages without Delay, went to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Gods; and in the Midſt of their Way were inform'd of all that *Prexaſpes* had ſaid and done; which obliging them to retire and confer together, *Otanes* earneſtly exhorted them to defer the Enterprize, and not to attempt any thing in the preſent Diſorder of Affairs: But *Darius* ſtill inſiſting upon immediate Execution, and rejecting all Propoſitions of Delay, the Diſpute grew warm; and as they were contending, ſeven Hawks appear'd purſuing two Vultures in the Air, pulling and tearing them to pieces: Which when the ſeven Perſians obſerv'd, they accepted the Omen; fell in with the Opinion of *Darius*, and march'd directly to the Palace; where they no

ſooner arriv'd than they found his Conjecture verified. For the Guards reſpecting their Dignity, and no way doubting ſuch a Deſign from Perſons of their Rank and Figure, permitted them to paſs without aſking any Queſtion. But when they enter'd the Hall, the Eunuchs who attended to receive Meſſages began to enquire what Buſineſs they had there; and threatening the Guards for permitting them to paſs, put themſelves into a Poſture of Reſiſtance, if they ſhould attempt to proceed farther. Then the ſeven Perſians animating each other, drew their Swords; kill'd all that oppos'd their Paſſage, and in an Inſtant penetrated to an inner Room where the two Mages were conſulting about the late Action of *Prexaſpes*; who, when they heard the Exclamations and Tumult of the Eunuchs, went together to the Door, and perceiving what was doing, reſolv'd to have recourſe to Arms. To that End, one of them taking up a Bow, and the other a Javelin, they began to engage in the Combat: He who had the Bow, ſoon found that Weapon of no Uſe in ſo cloſe an Action; but the other with his Javelin wounded *Aſpathines* in the Thigh, and ſtruck out the Eye of *Intaphernes*, tho' the Wound was not mortal. Thus one of the Mages wounded two of the Perſians; whilſt he who found his Bow uſeleſs, ran to a Bed-Chamber adjoining to the Place where they fought, with Deſign to ſhut the Door upon himſelf; but was ſo cloſely purſued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*, that they broke into the Chamber with him: And as *Gobryas* was ſtruggling with the Mage, *Darius* ſtood ſtill, doubting how to direct his Blow in the dark: Which

Gobryas

Gobryas perceiving, and aſking why he held his Hand; *Darius* anſwer'd, becauſe he fear'd he might hurt him; "Puſh, Puſh, ſaid *Gobryas*, "tho' you ſtrike thro' the Bodies of both." Upon this *Darius* reſolv'd to put all to the venture, and by good Fortune kill'd the Mage. When the ſeven had diſpatch'd the Mages, they cut off their Heads; and leaving the two Perſians who were wounded, to ſecure the Palace, becauſe they could not be ſerviceable elſewhere, the other five carrying the Heads of the Mages, march'd out with great Tumult and Exclamation; and calling to the Perſians, related what they had done; ſhewing them the Heads; and kill'd all the Mages they found in their Way. The Perſians were no ſooner inform'd of what had paſs'd, and of the Deceit of the Mages, than they likewiſe reſolving to act in Conformity to the ſeven, kill'd every Mage they met; and if Night coming on had not prevented, no one of that Order had been left alive. All the Perſians celebrate this Day with the greateſt Solemnity, and call the Feſtival by the Name of *Magophonia*, or *The Slaughter of the Mages*. On that Day no Mage may be ſeen abroad; but every one of them is conſtrain'd to ſhut himſelf up in his own Houſe.

FIVE Days after this Tumult, thoſe who had been concern'd in the Attempt againſt the Mages, met to conſult about the Government, and made the following Speeches; notwithſtanding ſome among the Grecians fondly imagine they are fictitious. *Otanes* opening the Conference with an Exhortation to the reſt that they would eſtabliſh a Commonwealth in *Perſia*, ſaid; "My "Opinion is, that we ought not to entruſt the "ſupreme

" ſupreme Power with any ſingle Perſon among
" us; becauſe a Monarchical Government is
" neither good nor ſafe. You know to what
" Exceſſes *Cambyſes* was tranſported, and have
" ſufficiently experienc'd the Inſolence of a
" Mage. And indeed how can that Govern-
" ment be well adminiſter'd, where one Man
" may do all Things with Impunity; and in
" which even the beſt are eaſily tempted by
" an exorbitant Power to abandon the Virtues
" they had acquir'd? A Man, made Inſolent
" by Greatneſs, and naturally envious like other
" Men, cannot but be compleatly vicious:
" For Inſolence, in Conjunction with Envy,
" puſhes Men on to many nefarious Actions.
" One would think a Tyrant ſhould not be
" envious, becauſe he poſſeſſes ſuch eminent
" Advantages above other Men; but Expe-
" rience demonſtrates the contrary. He envies
" the beſt, and favours the worſt Men of
" the Nation: He hearkens to Calumny with
" Pleaſure; and his Conduct is ſo irregular,
" that if any one commend him modeſtly, he
" grows angry, and thinks he is not treated
" with ſufficient Reverence: On the other
" Hand, if he be highly admir'd, he is no
" leſs offended, becauſe he ſuſpects he is flat-
" ter'd. In Things of greater Importance he
" is yet more intolerable. He overthrows
" the Orders and Cuſtoms of the Country;
" violates the Chaſtity of Women; and murders
" the Innocent unheard. But a popular Govern-
" ment deſervedly bears the charming Name
" of Equality, and is never guilty of thoſe
" Exceſſes that are the conſtant Attendants of
" Monarchy. The Magiſtrates are appointed

" by

" by Election; every Officer is oblig'd to give " an Account of his Adminiſtration, and all " Reſolutions are paſs'd by common Conſent. " My Opinion therefore is, that we ought to " reject Monarchy, and eſtabliſh a popular Go- " vernment: For no valuable Quality can be " wanting in a numerous Aſſembly." When *Otanes* had thus deliver'd his Opinion, *Megabyzus* ſpoke next; and recommending an * Oligarchy to their Choice, ſaid, " I readily concur with " *Otanes* in the Advice he has given to aboliſh " the Tyranny; but to counſel us to confer the " whole Power upon the Multitude, is, as I " conceive, a wide Deviation from the right " Way. For nothing can be imagin'd more " fooliſh and arrogant than the Vulgar; and " therefore nothing can be more extravagant, " than that we, who are endeavouring to avoid " the Inſolence of a Tyrant, ſhould give our " ſelves up to ſerve the Petulancy of a capricious " Multitude. A Tyrant knows what he does; " but the Populace is brutally ignorant: For " how ſhould they know any thing, who are " bred under no Diſcipline; and have no Idea of " Virtue, or even of common Order; precipi- " tating all their Actions with a Fury reſembling " an impetuous Torrent? Let thoſe then who " deſire the Ruin of the Perſians, promote the " Eſtabliſhment of a popular State: As for me, " I am of Opinion that we ought to place the " Sovereign Authority in a ſelect Council of " the beſt Men; both becauſe we ourſelves " ſhall be of their Number, and becauſe in all " Appearance the beſt Men will give the beſt " Advice." After *Megabyzus* had thus ſpoken,

Darius

* *i. e.* Government in the Hands of a Few.

Darius declar'd his Judgment in theſe Terms. " The things which have been ſaid by *Megabyſus* " againſt a popular Government, ſeem to me ve- " ry juſt and right; but I cannot approve his " Opinion touching the excellency of an Oligar- " chy; becauſe, I think, a Monarchy preferable " either to that, or to a popular State, ſuppoſing " the Powers in each be perfectly well admini- " ſter'd. Certainly nothing can be imagin'd " more excellent than the Government of a ſin- " gle Perſon, if he be compleatly virtuous: For " ſuch a Man will govern the People without " departing from the Rules of Equity, and lock " up the Secret of his Deſigns from the Know- " ledge of all Enemies. Whereas in an Oligar- " chy, whilſt many are contending to ſurpaſs " each other in advancing the publick Service, " private Enmities will frequently and unavoida- " bly ariſe: And every Man be willing to be " the principal Manager, and deſirous to ſee " his own Opinions prevail, Animoſities of the " moſt dangerous Conſequence muſt neceſſarily " enſue. From this Source Seditions ariſe; " from Sedition Murder; and from mutual " Murders things naturally tend to Monarchy: " Which is ſufficient to prove this Kind of " Government highly preferable to any other. " On the other Hand, in a popular State, ill " Deſigns will certainly be ſometimes form'd " againſt the Publick; and when that happens, " they will not produce Enmity, but the " ſtrongeſt Ties of mutual Friendſhip and " Confidence; for ſuch Men always conceal " one another: 'Till at laſt ſome Perſon of " great Authority with the Multitude, puts " himſelf at their Head, and ſtops the Pro-

" ceedings

" ceedings of the Conſpirators: Which this " admir'd Man has no ſooner done, than he be- " comes a real Monarch, and ſhews by his Ex- " ample the Excellency of monarchical Govern- " ment. To finiſh all in a Word; From what " Cauſe, and by whoſe Means were we made a " free Nation? Did we receive our Liberties " from the People; from a few ſelect Perſons; " or from a Monarch? My Opinion therefore " is, that ſince we were deliver'd from Servi- " tude by a ſingle Perſon, we would reſolve to " confirm that Kind of Government, and not " to alter the Cuſtom of our Country which has " been ſo advantageous to us: For we ſhould not " find our Account in the Change." After theſe three Opinions had been propos'd, four of the ſeven embrac'd that of *Darius*; and *Otanes*, who had endeavour'd to introduce an equal Republick, finding his Sentiment over-rul'd by Number, concluded with theſe Words, " Since " you have diſcover'd your factious Deſign, " and have determin'd that one of us ſhall be " King, either by the Chance of a Lot, or " the Election of the Perſian Multitude, or " by ſome other Way, I will not be your " Competitor, becauſe I reſolve neither to go- " vern nor be govern'd; but quit all my Right, " on Condition that neither I nor any of my " Poſterity may be accounted Subjects." When he had ſaid this, and the ſix had conſented to his Demand, *Otanes* retir'd without more diſpute; and his Deſcendants alone of all the Perſians retain their Liberty to this Day; being no farther ſubject to the King than they think convenient, and only oblig'd to conform to the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Country. After

his

his Departure, the other ſix enter'd into a Deliberation touching the moſt equitable Manner of conſtituting a King; and in the firſt Place reſolv'd, that if any one of their Number obtain'd the Kingdom, *Otanes*, and his Poſterity after him, ſhould every Year receive a Median Veſt, accompanied with all other Preſents which are accounted moſt honourable among the Perſians. Theſe Advantages they conferr'd upon him, becauſe he had been the Author of the Enterprize againſt the Mage, and brought them together into this Aſſociation. In the next Place, they determin'd that the ſeven ſhould have full Liberty to enter into all the Apartments of the Palace without being introduc'd; unleſs the King ſhould happen to be in Bed with one of his Women; and that he ſhould not be permitted to marry a Wife out of any other Family, than of the Aſſociated ſeven. Then taking the future Election into their Conſideration, they all agreed, that they would mount on Horſeback, and ride to the Suburbs the next Morning upon the Riſing of the Sun; and that he, whoſe Horſe ſhould be heard to neigh firſt, ſhould be declar'd King. In this Reſolution the Aſſembly parted, and *Darius* was no ſooner return'd Home, than calling for *Oebares*, who had the Charge of his Horſes, and was a Man of Ingenuity, he ſaid to him, "*Oebares*, We have determin'd to diſpoſe of "the Kingdom in this Manner: He, whoſe "Horſe ſhall neigh firſt after the Riſing of the "Sun, is to have the Sovereign Power. Now "therefore, if thou haſt any Invention, exer-"ciſe thy Talent, that I may obtain this Glo-"ry, with the Excluſion of all other Perſons."

"SIR,

"SIR, anſwer'd *Oebares*, if nothing elſe be "wanting to make you King, take Courage "and be no Way diſturb'd; for I know a Secret "which will certainly prove effectual, and ex- "clude all your Competitors. If thou haſt ſuch "a Secret, ſaid *Darius*, 'tis time to uſe it with- "out Delay; for the Trial is to be made to "Morrow." *Oebares* having heard this, depar- ted; and when Night came, he led a Mare, which the Horſe of *Darius* lov'd, to the Suburbs, and tied her up: Then he brought his Maſter's Horſe thither alſo; and after he had led him ſe- veral Times round the Mare, and ſuffer'd him to ſtand in the ſame Place, he at laſt let him cover her. The next Morning at Day-break the ſix Perſians appearing on Horſeback purſuant to their Reſolution, rode about the Suburbs; and as they paſs'd by that Part where the Mare had been tied the preceding Night, the Horſe of *Darius* ran to the Place, and neigh'd; which he had no ſooner done, than Flaſhes of Lighten- ing were ſeen iſſuing from a clear Sky, and fol- low'd by a clap of Thunder. This happen'd for- tunately to *Darius*, as if Heaven had conſented to his Advancement, and put an End to the Diſ- pute; all his Competitors diſmounting from their Horſes, and adoring him as King. This Account is moſt commonly given of the Artifice us'd by *Oebares*: But others ſay (and the Perſians relate the Story both Ways) that having rubb'd his Hand upon the genital Part of the Mare, he kept it warm under his Garment; and that after the Riſing of the Sun, when the Horſes were ready to ſet forward, *Oebares* drew out his Hand, and ſtrok'd the Noſtrils of his Ma- ſter's Horſe; who taking the Scent, began

to

to ſnort and neigh immediately after. However this be, *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* was declar'd King, and all the People of *Aſia* ſubmitted to his Government, except the Arabians, who tho' they had been conquer'd by *Cyrus*, and afterwards by *Cambyſes*, were never reduc'd to the Condtion of Subjects by the Perſians, but were accounted their Friends, and gave them a free Paſſage into *Ægypt*; which they could not have compaſs'd without their Permiſſion and Aſſiſtance. The firſt Perſian Wives of *Darius* were, the two Daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atoſſa* and *Artyſtona*. The former had been Wife to her Brother *Cambyſes*, and alſo to the Mage; but *Artyſtona* was a Virgin. To theſe he added *Parmys*, the Daughter of *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*; together with that Daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the Mage: And having taken due Care to eſtabliſh his Power, he order'd a Statue of Stone to be erected, repreſenting a Man ſitting on Horſeback, and bearing this Inſcription, *DARIUS* THE SON OF *HYSTASPES* OBTAIN'D THE KINGDOM OF *PERSIA* BY THE VIGOUR OF HIS HORSE (here the Name of the Horſe was read) AND BY THE ART OF *OEBARES* MASTER OF HIS STABLES. Having done this, he divided his Dominions into twenty Provinces, or *Satrapies*, and conſtituted a Governour in each Diviſion. Then he appointed the Tribute, which every Nation ſhould be oblig'd to pay into his Treaſury; in ſome Places uniting to thoſe Nations the Inhabitants of the adjacent Regions; but in other Parts omitting the contiguous Countries, and joyning together divers ſeparated Diſtricts under the ſame Government.

When

When he had ſettled the Provincial Tribute, he farther ordain'd, that all thoſe who brought their Portion in Silver, ſhould make their Payments by the Babylonian Talent, which is equal to ſeventy Eubœan Mines; and thoſe who paid in Gold, ſhould bring in their Part by the Standard of the Eubœan Talent. During the Reign of *Cyrus* no Tributes were impos'd, nor even afterwards under *Cambyſes*; but the People made voluntary Preſents to the King: And therefore from the Eſtabliſhment of theſe Taxes, and other things of like Nature, the Perſians ſay *Darius* was a mere Trader, *Cambyſes* a Maſter, and *Cyrus* a Father to the Country. For *Darius* made Profit of every thing; *Cambyſes* was Moroſe and Haughty; but *Cyrus* was Mild, and always contriving to render the People happy. The Ionians, and Aſiatick Magneſians, with the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyans, and Pamphylians, were appointed to pay a Tribute of four hundred Talents in Silver, and compos'd the firſt Satrapy. The Myſians, Lydians, Alyſonians, Cabalians, and Hygenians, were the ſecond, and paid five hundred Talents of Silver. The Countries that lye on the right Hand of thoſe who ſail thro' the *Helleſpont*, together with the Phrygians, Aſiatick Thracians, Paphlagonians, Mariandenians and Syrians, paid three hundred and ſixty Talents, and made up the third Government. The Cilicians were the fourth; and furniſh'd *Darius* with three hundred and ſixty white Horſes; that is, one for every Day of the Year; beſides five hundred Talents in Silver; a hundred and forty of which were conſum'd in that Part of *Cilicia*, where thoſe Horſes were kept,

and the remaining three hundred and ſixty were paid into the Treaſury. The fifth comprehended all the Countries that lie extended from the City of *Poſideum*, built in the Mountains of *Cilicia* and *Syria* by *Amphilochus* the Son of *Amphiaraus*, down to *Ægypt*, excepting only the Arabian Territories, which are free from any Tribute: This Portion, containing all *Phœnicia*, the *Palæſtine Syria*, and *Cyprus*, was tax'd at three hundred and fifty Talents. *Ægypt*, and thoſe Parts of *Lybia* which border upon *Ægypt*, together with *Cyrene* and *Barca*, made up the ſixth Government, and contributed ſeven hundred Talents, beſides the Revenue ariſing from the Fiſhery of the Lake *Myris*; and a ſufficient Quantity of Corn for one hundred and twenty thouſand Perſians and their Auxiliaries, who had their Station within the white Wall of *Memphis*. The ſeventh Satrapy conſiſting of the Sattagydians, Gandarians, Dadicians and Apparites, paid one hundred and ſeventy Talents. *Suſa* and the reſt of the Ciſſians were the eighth, and contributed three hundred. A thouſand Talents of Silver, and five hundred young Eunuchs, were furniſh'd yearly by the City of *Babylon*, and other Parts of *Aſſyria*: This was the ninth Diviſion. *Ecbatana* and the reſt of *Media*, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes, were the tenth, and paid a Tribute of four hundred and fifty Talents. The Caſpians, Pauſics, Pantimatians, and Darites, contributed two hundred Talents, and compos'd the eleventh Satrapy. The twelfth, which extended from the Bactrians to the Æglans, brought in three hundred and ſixty Talents. The City of *Pactya* with the Armenians, and other neighbouring Parts down

down to the *Euxine Sea*, made the thirteenth Government, and was order'd to pay four hundred Talents. The fourteenth conſiſted of the Sagartians, Sarangæans, Thamanæans, Utians, Mecians, and thoſe who inhabit the Iſlands of the *Red Sea*, where baniſh'd Perſons were confin'd by the King; all theſe together were oblig'd to bring in ſix hundred Talents. The fifteenth, comprehending the Saces and Caſpians, paid two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Choraſmians, Sogdians, and Arians, were the ſixteenth Government, and furniſh'd three hundred Talents. Four hundred were requir'd from the Paricanians, and Aſiatick Æthiopians, who made the ſeventeenth Diviſion. The eighteenth conſiſting of the Mantienians, Saſperians, and Alarodians, brought in two hundred Talents. The Moſchians, Tibarenians, Macronians, Moſinæcians, and Mardians, were enjoyned to pay three hundred Talents, and compos'd the nineteenth Satrapy. The Indians were the twentieth; and as they are more numerous than any other People we know, the Tribute charg'd upon them was proportionably great: For they were oblig'd to bring in yearly three hundred and ſixty Talents of Gold. Now, if the Babylonian Talent be reduc'd to the Foot of the Eubœan, we ſhall find in this Account nine thouſand five hundred and forty Talents: And if we eſteem the Gold to be worth thirteen Times its Weight in Silver, the Sum will amount to four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty Eubœan Talents. All this computed together, ſhews that *Darius* receiv'd the yearly Tribute of fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Talents of the Eubœan Value; beſides other

Sums of leſs Conſequence: Which I forbear to mention. Theſe Revenues were paid to *Darius* by the Inhabitants of *Aſia*, and a ſmall Part of *Libya*: But in ſucceeding Times another Tribute was laid upon the Iſlands, and divers Parts of *Europe* as far as *Theſſaly*. The King preſerves his Treaſures in this Manner: He cauſes the Metals to be melted down, and pour'd into earthen Pots: Which done the Veſſels are broken, and when Occaſion requires, ſo much is cut off as ſeems neceſſary. Thus the ſeveral Governments and Tributes were eſtabliſh'd.

AMONG the tributary Countries I have not mention'd *Perſia*; becauſe the Lands of the Perſians are free from all Taxes. But the Æthiopians, who border upon *Ægypt*, and were conquer'd by *Cambyſes* in his Expedition againſt the Macrobians; together with thoſe who inhabit the ſacred City of *Nyſſa*, and celebrate the Feſtival of *Bacchus*; are not enjoyn'd to pay Tribute, but ſend a yearly Preſent to the King. Theſe Æthiopians and the adjoyning People, who live in ſubterraneous Dwellings, and uſe the ſame Grain with the Calantian Indians, make a Preſent every third Year of two Chœnix's of unrefin'd Gold; two hundred Bundles of Ebony; five Æthiopian Children; and twenty Elephants Teeth of the largeſt Size: Which Cuſtom they continue to this Day. The Colchians were alſo number'd among thoſe who gave Preſents; with the Nations that lye between their Country and Mount *Caucaſus*: For ſo far the Dominions of *Perſia* extend. But the People who inhabit the North ſide of that Mountain, yield no Obedience to the Perſian Power. The Preſent ſent by the Colchians, conſiſting of one hundred

hundred Boys and the ſame Number of Virgins, was deliver'd every fifth Year. Theſe Gifts and a thouſand Talents of Frankincenſe preſented yearly by the Arabians, were brought in to the King, over and above the ordinary Tribute.

I SHALL now explain in what Manner the Indians collect that great Quantity of Gold, which ſerves to pay the Tribute impos'd upon them by the King. That Part of *India* which faces the Riſing Sun is cover'd with Sand; and of all the People who inhabit *Aſia*, and are known to us by certain Information, the Indians are plac'd in the moſt eaſtwardly Situation. The Country which moſt advances towards the Eaſt, is rendred deſart by the Sands. The Indians conſiſt of many Nations, and ſpeak different Languages; ſome apply themſelves to the keeping of Cattle, and others not. Some inhabit the Moraſſes of the River, and feed upon raw Fiſh, which they take in Boats compos'd of Reeds parted at the Joint. Theſe Indians wear Garments made of Ruſhes, which they cut in the River; and interlacing together, form into the Shape of a Cuiraſs. Eaſtward of this People lye the Padæans, who keep Cattle, eat raw Fleſh, and are reported to uſe the following Cuſtoms. When any one of the Community is ſick, his beſt Friends diſpatch him preſently; becauſe, ſay they, he is in a waſting Condition, and the Diſeaſe will corrupt his Body: If he deny he is ſick, they have no Regard to his Words; but kill him and feaſt upon his Fleſh: And if a Woman be in the ſame Condition, ſhe is treated in the ſame Manner by other Women. They kill thoſe who happen to live 'till they are

Old, and eat their Fleſh with Rejoycing; but few among them attain to long Life, becauſe they ſpare none that fall into any Diſtemper. On the other Hand ſome Indians obſerve a quite contrary Cuſtom. For they neither kill any Animal, nor ſow any Seed, nor build Houſes; but content themſelves with what the Earth freely affords. The Country naturally produces a ſort of Grain equal to Millet in Bigneſs, and cover'd with a kind of Huſk: Which being gather'd, and boil'd together with the Skin, ſerves for Food. When any one among them is ſick, he retires into the Deſart; where no Care is taken of him, whether he live or dye. All theſe Indians I have mention'd reſemble the Æthiopians in Complexion, and perform the Act of Generation in Publick, like other Animals. The Seed they emit is not white, as that of other Men, but of equal Blackneſs with their Skin; and ſuch alſo is the Seed of the Æthiopians. This Part of *India* is ſituate to the Southward, very remote from the Perſians, and by that Means was not ſubject to *Darius*. Other Indians inhabiting towards the North, and confining upon the Territories of *Caſpatyrus* and *Pactya*, reſemble the Bactrians in Manners, and are the moſt valiant People of all *India*. Theſe are they, who are appointed to collect Gold upon the uninhabited Sands of their Country. In this Deſart are found Piſmires, leſs indeed than Dogs, yet of a larger Size than Foxes. Some of them are kept in the Palace of the Perſian King, which were taken in this Place. Theſe Piſmires are in Shape exactly like thoſe of *Greece*; and burrow themſelves under Ground,

by

by carrying out the Sand (which is intermix'd with Gold) after the ſame Manner as with us. To this Deſart the Indians ſend to fetch Gold, every Man employ'd in that Work tying three Camels together; a Male on each ſide, and a Female in the Middle, which he mounts himſelf, and always takes Care ſhe be one that has newly foal'd. Theſe Camels are no leſs ſwift than Horſes, and much more able to carry Burdens. Their Form I need not deſcribe to the Grecians; and therefore ſhall only obſerve, that a Camel has four Thighs and four Knees on his hinder Parts, and the genital Member turning towards his Tail; which things are not commonly known. When the Indians have prepar'd and harneſs'd their Camels in the Manner abovemention'd they ſet forwards towards the Deſart; having before calculated the Time ſo as to arrive there during the moſt ſcorching Heat of the Day; becauſe the Piſmires are then all under Ground. In this Climate the Sun is not, as in other Regions, hotteſt at Noon; but in the Morning: During which, even to the Hour when Men uſually retire from our publick Places, the Heat is more ſcorching than at Noon in *Greece*; and for this Reaſon, as is commonly reported, theſe Indians are accuſtom'd at that Time to bathe in cold Water. At Noon the Heat is little different from that which is felt in other Countries; but ſoon after becomes as moderate as the Morning elſewhere; gradually diminiſhing as the Sun declines, and upon the Setting changes into exceſſive Cold.

The Indians arriving in this Place, fill their Sacks with the Sand and return with all poſſible

Expedition. For the Piſmires, as the Perſians ſay, immediately taking the Scent purſue them with ſuch unparallel'd Swiftneſs, that none of the Indians could eſcape, if they did not uſe the utmoſt Diligence before theſe Creatures can get together. For this Cauſe they untye the Male Camels, leſt they ſhould not be equally match'd, and ſo hinder each other in their Courſe: Whilſt the Females, which are more ſwift than the Males, and animated by the Remembrance of their Young, ſpare no Efforts to return with all poſſible Speed. In this Manner the Indians collect the greateſt part of their Gold, as the Perſians ſay: For that which they dig out of the Mines is not ſo conſiderable. Thus the remoteſt Part of the inhabited World poſſeſſes ſome of the moſt noble things; as *Greece* is more happily bleſs'd with an agreeable Temper of Air and Seaſons. For in theſe Regions, which, as I ſaid before, lye fartheſt to the Eaſtward, and are call'd *India*, all Animals, both Quadrupeds and Birds, are bigger than in other Places; except only Horſes, which are not ſo large as the Myſæan Horſes of *Media*. There is likewiſe Abundance of Gold, either dug out of the Mines, or brought down by the Rivers, or robb'd from the Piſmires in the Manner I have related; beſides a certain Tree, growing wild and inſtead of Fruit bearing a Wool, which excels that of Sheep both in Colour and Goodneſs, and is uſed by the Indians for Cloathing.

ARABIA is the laſt inhabited Country lying to the Southward; and the only Region which produces Frankincenſe, Myrrh, Caſſia, Cinnamon, and Ledanum. All theſe things the

Arabians gather with great Facility, Myrrh only excepted. For tho' the Trees which produce Frankincenſe are guarded by great Numbers of flying Serpents, ſmall of Body, ſpotted with various Colours, and of the ſame kind with thoſe that attempt to invade *Ægypt*; yet the Arabians by burning Styrax underneath, a Gum commonly tranſported into *Greece* by the Phœnicians, drive them away with the Smoak, and then gather the Frankincenſe from the Trees. Theſe Serpents, the Arabians ſay, would fill all the Country, if they were not ſubject to the ſame Effect which is experienc'd in Vipers: And we may rationally conjecture, that the Wiſdom of divine Providence has made all thoſe Creatures, which are naturally fearful, and ſerve for Food, to be very prolific, leſt the Species ſhould be deſtroy'd by conſtant Conſumption: And on the contrary, ſuch as are rapacious and cruel, to be almoſt barren. Hence the Hare, which is hunted by Beaſts, Birds, and Men, is a great Breeder, and the only Animal that conceives to Superfœtation; carrying young ones in her Belly, of which ſome are forming in the Womb, others naked, and others ready for Birth at the ſame Time: Whereas a Lyoneſs, which is the ſtrongeſt and fierceſt of Beaſts, brings no more than one Lyon during her Life; becauſe ſhe ejects her Matrix with her Whelp: For he is no ſooner capable of Motion, but with his Claws, ſharper than thoſe of any other Beaſt, he begins to tear the Part where he lies; till increaſing in Strength, he at laſt rends it in pieces, and leaves nothing ſound behind him at his Eruption. If Vipers and the winged Serpents of *Arabia* ſhould multiply without

out Impediment, Men could not poſſibly live. But when they couple together, and the Male emits his Seed, the Female ſeizes him by the Neck, and preſſes ſo hard with her Teeth, that ſhe never lets him go, 'till ſhe has torn out the Piece. In this Manner the Male dyes; and the Female eſcapes not long with Impunity: For when her young Ones are intirely form'd, they open a Way for themſelves with their Teeth thro' her Bowels, and thus revenge the Death of their Father: Whilſt other Serpents which are not hurtful to Men, lay their Eggs, and produce great Abundance of their own Kind. As for Vipers, they are found in all Parts of the World; but flying Serpents are no where ſeen, at leaſt in any conſiderable Number, except in *Arabia*.

HAVING related the Manner of gathering Frankincenſe, I ſhall now give ſome Account of the Way they take to furniſh themſelves with Caſſia, which is this: They cover all the Body and Face, except the Eyes, with Hides and Skins, and go down to the Lake where the Caſſia grows. This Lake is not deep; but infeſted with great Numbers of winged Beaſts, in Form reſembling a Bat; making hideous Cries, and aſſaulting boldly. From theſe the Arabians take Care to defend their Eyes, and in the mean Time cut the Caſſia. But the Manner of getting Cinnamon is yet more admirable. They can neither tell how, nor in what Region this Aromatick is produc'd; and the beſt they can ſay is only founded upon Conjecture: Some pretending that it grows in thoſe Countries where *Bacchus* receiv'd his Education; and from thence, ſay they, certain great Birds bring thoſe Sticks (which

(which we from the Phœnicians call Cinnamon) to build their Neſts, with a Mixture of Dirt, in mountainous Cliffs inacceſſible to Men: The Arabians, to ſurmount this Difficulty, have invented the following Artifice. They cut Oxen, Aſſes, and other large Cattle into great Pieces, and when they have carried and laid them down as near as is poſſible to the Neſts; they retire to ſome Diſtance from the Place. In the mean Time the Birds deſcend to the Fleſh, and carry up the Pieces to their Neſts; which not being ſtrong enough to ſupport ſuch a Weight, fall down immediately to the Ground. The Arabians approaching, gather up the Sticks; and by this Means, they and other Nations are furniſh'd with Cinnamon. But the gathering of Ledanum, which the Arabians call Ladanum, is far more wonderful. For tho' this Drug be found ſticking to the Beard of the He-Goat, like the Mouldineſs of putrified Wood, and come from ſuch a ſtinking Place, yet it is of a moſt fragrant Scent; entring into the Compoſition of various Ointments, and is more generally burnt by the Arabians than any other Perfume. But I have ſaid enough of theſe Odours. For the reſt, the Air of *Arabia* is divinely ſweet; and the Country produces two ſorts of Sheep, which are very ſtrange, and no where elſe ſeen: The firſt Kind has a Tail at leaſt three Cubits long, which would certainly ulcerate, if they were ſuffer'd to draw it after them upon the Ground. But every Shepherd learning as much of the Wheelwright's Art as ſerves his Purpoſe, makes little Carts; upon which he places the Tails of the Sheep, and faſtens them. The other ſort has a Tail of a full Cubit in Breadth.

South-

South-West of this Country, lye the Regions of *Æthiopia*, which are the utmoſt Limits of the inhabited World; abounding in Gold, Ebony, and Elephants of a prodigious Size. The Trees grow wild and uncultivated; and the Inhabitants are tall, beautiful, and of long Life. Theſe are the Extremities of *Aſia* and *Libya*; but I have nothing certain to relate concerning the weſtern Bounds of *Europe:* Neither can I aſſent to thoſe who tell us of a River, by the Barbarians call'd *Eridanus*, which, they ſay, furniſhes Amber, and runs Northward into the Sea. I know as little of the Iſlands call'd *Caſſiterides*, from the Tin which is thence imported among us. Indeed the very Name of *Eridanus*, which is Greek, and not Barbarous, diſcovers it to be the Fiction of ſome Poet. And tho' I have diligently inquir'd; yet I have never ſeen any Man, who by his own Experience could inform me concerning the Nature of that Sea, which bounds the Extremities of *Europe*. However 'tis certain that Amber and Tin come from the remoteſt Parts: And great Abundance of Gold is found in the Northern Regions; but in what Manner I am not able to relate with Certainty; tho' 'tis ſaid that the Arimaſpians, a People who have only one Eye, ſteal it from the Griffins. But I cannot believe that Men are born with one Eye, and yet reſemble the reſt of Mankind in all other things. In a Word, theſe extreme Parts ſeem to contain another Region, abundantly provided with whatever we account rare and excellent.

THERE is a Plain in *Aſia* encompaſs'd on every ſide with a Ridge of Hills, opening into five ſeveral Paſſages. This Country was formerly

merly in the Poſſeſſion of the Choraſmians, inhabiting the Mountains; and of the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangæans, and Thomanians; but ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Perſian Power, belongs to the King. A great River, known by the Name of *Aces*, flows from theſe Hills, and in Times paſt water'd the Territories of the Nations before mention'd. But theſe People have ſuffer'd much ſince they were reduc'd under the Dominion of the Perſians. For the King caus'd the Apertures to be ſo effectually ſtopp'd, that the River finding no Paſſage out, was inclos'd within the Hills as in a Baſon: And the People, who before had been ſupplied with thoſe Waters, being depriv'd of a thing ſo neceſſary, were reduc'd to great Extremities. For tho', as other Countries, they have Rain in Winter; yet in Summer, when they ſow Panicum and Seſamus, they ſtand in need of a farther Supply of Water; and therefore finding themſelves totally excluded from the Benefit of the River, they went with their Wives to the King's Palace, howling, and making loud Exclamations before the Gates. Upon which the King gave Order that the Paſſages ſhould be open'd towards thoſe Lands that were in the moſt preſſing Want, and ſhut up again when they were ſufficiently water'd; and afterwards to do the like to the reſt, in ſuch Order as ſhould be found neceſſary. But this, as I am well inform'd, was only a Contrivance to extort great Sums of Money beſides the uſual Tribute.

INTAPHERNES, one of the ſeven who had conſpir'd againſt the Mage, was ſiez'd and put to Death by the King, on the following Occaſion.

ſion. Soon after that Enterprize, he went to the Palace, in order to confer with *Darius*; purſuant to the Agreement beforemention'd, by which Proviſion was made, that all the Accomplices might freely go into the King at any Time, except when he ſhould happen to be in Bed with one of his Wives. *Intaphernes* therefore, in Confidence of this Privilege, attempting to enter the Royal Apartment without an Introducer, was ſtopp'd by the Door-keeper and Meſſenger, under Colour that the King was then accompanied by one of his Women. But *Intaphernes* ſuſpecting they lyed, drew his Scymiter, and after he had cut off the Ears and Noſes of both thoſe Officers, he faſten'd a Bridle to the Head of each, and ſo left them. In this Condition they went in, and ſhewing themſelves to the King, acquainted him with the Cauſe of the ill Uſage they had receiv'd. Upon which *Darius* fearing the ſix might have concerted this Attempt together, ſent for them, one after the other, and aſk'd if they approv'd the Action. But finding by their Anſwers that *Intaphernes* was ſingly guilty, he caus'd him to be ſiez'd with his Children and Family, having many Reaſons to ſuſpect that he and his Relations might raiſe a Rebellion. Whilſt they were under Confinement, and bound, in order to Execution, the Wife of *Intaphernes* went to the Gates of the Palace, weeping and lamenting loudly; which ſhe continued ſo aſſiduouſly, that at laſt *Darius* mov'd with Compaſſion, ſent a Meſſenger to ſpeak to her in theſe Terms, "Woman, The King "gives you the Life of any one among your "Relations, who are Priſoners, and leaves you "the Choice of the Perſon." "Since the King,

"ſaid

" ſaid ſhe, after ſome Deliberation, will grant " me no more than one, I chuſe my Bro- " ther." *Darius*, when he heard her Anſwer, wondring at her Choice, diſpatch'd another Meſſenger to aſk her in his Name, " Why ſhe " had ſhewn ſo little Regard to her Huſband " and Children, and rather choſen to ſave the " Life of her Brother, who was not ſo near re- " lated to her as her Children, nor could be ſo " dear to her as her Huſband." She anſwer'd, " That by the Permiſſion of God ſhe might " have another Huſband and other Children, " if ſhe ſhould be depriv'd of thoſe ſhe had; " but could never have another Brother, be- " cauſe her Father and Mother were already " dead." The King was ſo well pleas'd with this Anſwer, that he not only pardon'd her Brother, but gave her likewiſe the Life of her eldeſt Son, and put all the reſt to Death. Thus *Darius* caus'd one of the ſeven to be executed in the Beginning of his Reign.

OROETES a Perſian, who had been conſtituted Governour of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*, undertook a deteſtable Enterprize about the Time of *Cambyſes*'s Sickneſs. For he form'd a Deſign againſt the Life of *Polycrates* the Samian, tho' he had never ſeen him, nor ever receiv'd any Injury from him by Word or Deed. But the moſt current Report is, that the Cauſe was this. As he was one Day ſitting at the Gates of the Palace with another Perſian, whoſe Name was *Mitrobates*, at that Time Governour of *Daſcylium*, they fell from ordinary Diſcourſe into a moſt violent Conteſtation concerning Valour; in which *Mitrobates* upbraided *Oræetes* in theſe Terms. " Art thou then,

" ſaid he, to be accounted a Man of any Eſteem,
" who haſt not yet reduc'd the Iſland of *Samos*
" to the King's Obedience; which lies near
" thy Government, and is ſo eaſy a Conqueſt,
" that the preſent Poſſeſſor made himſelf Ma-
" ſter of all, and ſiez'd the Sovereign Power,
" with the Aſſiſtance only of fifteen Men?"
This Reproach, they ſay, left a deep Impreſſion on the Mind of *Orætes*, and made him take a Reſolution to revenge himſelf; not upon *Mitrobates* who had done him the Injury, but againſt *Polycrates*, as the Cauſe of the Affront he had receiv'd. Others pretend, tho' not with ſo good Authority, that a Meſſenger diſpatch'd by *Orætes* to *Polycrates*, to demand ſomething, which is not mention'd, found him repoſing in an inner Chamber, with *Anacreon* of *Teos* ſitting by his Couch; and either knowing and deliberately, or elſe by Accident, when the Herald deliver'd his Meſſage, *Polycrates* continued all the Time with his Face towards the Wall, and never turn'd about, nor condeſcended to make him any Anſwer. Both theſe Reaſons are alledg'd to have been the Cauſe of the Cataſtrophe of *Polycrates*; and I leave every Man to determine for himſelf. However, *Orætes*, who reſided in the City of *Magneſia* upon the River *Mæander*, being acquainted with the Intentions of *Polycrates*, ſent a Meſſage by *Myrſus* the Son of *Gyges* the Lydian to *Samos*. For *Polycrates* was not only the firſt of all the Grecians we know, who form'd a Deſign to render himſelf Maſter of the Sea, except *Minos* of *Crete*; or perhaps ſome other before his Reign; but the firſt of all Men, who to that time had entertain'd the Thought of ſubduing *Ionia* and the Iſlands. *Orætes* there-

fore

fore well inform'd of his Deſign, ſent him a Meſſage in theſe Words; "*OROETES* to *POLYCRATES*. I hear you have great things in "View; but want Money to put your Projects "in Execution. Now if you will hearken to "my Advice, you may ſucceed in your Enterprizes, and preſerve me: For I have certain "Information that *Cambyſes* has reſolv'd to "take away my Life. Receive me therefore "with my Treaſures, and you ſhall have "one Part, on Condition I may enjoy the other: By theſe Means you cannot fail to acquire the Dominion of *Greece*. If you doubt "what I ſay concerning my Riches, ſend to "me one of the moſt faithful Perſons about "you, and I will ſatisfy him in that Particular." *Polycrates* puſh'd on by Covetouſneſs receiv'd the Propoſition of *Orætes* with Joy; and reſolving to purſue his Advice, ſent his Secretary *Mæandrus* the Son of *Mæandrius* to take a View of his Wealth. This Man was a Citizen of *Samos*; and not long after preſented all the magnificent Furniture found in the Apartment of *Polycrates*, to the Temple of *Juno*. When *Orætes* heard that he was coming with this Deſign, he caus'd eight Cheſts to be almoſt fill'd with Stones; and having ſpread a thin Covering of Gold upon the Surface, he made them faſt, and kept them ready 'till the Arrival of *Mæandrus*; who, when he had inſpected the pretended Treaſure, departed, and at his Return acquainted his Maſter with what he had ſeen. Upon this Information *Polycrates* reſolv'd to go in Perſon to *Orætes*, tho' he was earneſtly diſſuaded by his Friends, and by the Oracles; but eſpecially by his Daughter, who

dream'd ſhe ſaw her Father elevated in the Air; waſh'd by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun. Deeply affected with her Dream, ſhe endeavour'd by all Means poſſible to divert him from his intended Voyage; and as he was going to imbark on a Galley of fifty Oars, perſiſted to tell him that nothing but Misfortune could attend his Enterprize. On the other Hand he threatened her, if he return'd ſafe, that ſhe ſhould long continue unmarried; which ſhe willingly imprecated upon herſelf; chuſing rather to remain a Virgin, than to loſe her Father. Thus *Polycrates* rejecting all Counſel, went away to *Orætes*, accompanied by divers of his Friends, and among others by *Democedes* the Crotonian, who was Son to *Calliphon*, and the moſt ſkilful Phyſician of his Time. When he arriv'd in *Magneſia* he was put to Death in an infamous Manner, unworthy of his Perſon and Magnanimity: For none of all the Grecian Tyrants, not even thoſe of *Syracuſe*, are to be compar'd with *Polycrates* for Dignity and Grandeur. But *Orætes* put him to Death in a Manner not to be mention'd without Indignation: For he caus'd him to be crucified; and retaining all the Strangers and Servants, who had follow'd him, as Captive Slaves, he diſmiſs'd the reſt of the Samians, and told them they ought to thank him for their Liberty. Thus *Polycrates* accompliſh'd the Dream of his Daughter. For as he hung upon the Croſs, he was waſh'd with the Rain of *Jupiter*; and anointed by the Sun, as the Moiſture of his Body was exhal'd. And ſuch was the End of all his Proſperities, as *Amaſis* King of *Ægypt* had foretold.

But the Fate of *Polycrates* remain'd not long unreveng'd. For after the Death of *Cambyſes*, and during the Uſurpation of the Mages, *Orætes*, continuing at *Sardis*, gave no Manner of Aſſiſtance to the Perſians, who had been fraudulently diſpoſſeſs'd of their Power by the Medes; and not only took that Opportunity to murder *Mitrobates* Governor of *Daſcylium*, becauſe he had upbraided him with the Actions of *Polycrates*; together with his Son *Cranaſpes*, both highly reſpected by the Perſians; but among an infinite Number of other Crimes, caus'd a Meſſenger, who brought an unwelcome Meſſage to him from *Darius*, to be aſſaſſinated in his Return by certain Perſons appointed to way-lay him, and bury him privately with his Horſe, after they had put their Orders in Execution. *Darius* therefore upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, reſolv'd to puniſh *Orætes* for all his Crimes; and eſpecially for the Death of *Mitrobates* and his Son. But becauſe he knew his own Affairs were not yet firmly eſtabliſh'd in the Beginning of his Reign; and that *Orætes*, beſides a Guard of one thouſand Perſians, could draw together great Forces out of his Governments of *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, he declin'd to ſend an Army immediately againſt him; and chuſing rather to make uſe of other Means, ſummon'd the principal of the Perſians together, and ſpoke to them in theſe Terms. "Who among you, O "Perſians, will take upon him by his Wiſdom "to execute an Enterprize on my Account, "without having Recourſe to Violence or Num-"bers of Men? For where Prudence is requir'd, "Force is unneceſſary. Who among you will "bring me the Body of *Orætes* either alive or

" dead? Of *Orætes*, I ſay, who has never done " any Service to the Perſians, but brought infi- " nite Miſchiefs upon them: Who has already " murder'd two of us, I mean *Mitrobates* and " his Son; and by an unparallel'd Inſolence, aſ- " ſaſſinated the Meſſengers I ſent to recal him. " Therefore we ought by his Deſtruction to " prevent him from bringing greater Evils upon " the Nation." When *Darius* had thus ſpo- ken, thirty of thoſe who were preſent, profeſſed themſelves ready to execute his Orders; and every one contending for the Employment, *Darius* order'd them to determine the Diſpute by Lot; which being done, *Bagæus* the Son of *Artontes* was charg'd with the Enterprize, and perform'd it in this Manner. He wrote divers Letters about ſeveral Affairs; and after he had ſeal'd them with the Signet of *Darius*, he departed for *Sardis*; and coming into the Preſence of *Orætes*, deliver'd the Letters, one after the other, to be read by the King's Secretary; for every Governour has one of theſe Secretaries attending him. This he did in order to ſee if the Guards would ſhew any Signs of Defection: And per- ceiving they paid great Reſpects to the Letters, and much greater to the Contents, he put ano- ther into the Hands of the Secretary, contain- ing theſe Words, " Perſians, King *Darius* " forbids you to ſerve any longer for Guards " to *Orætes*:" Which they no ſooner heard, than they laid down their Lances. When *Bagæus* ſaw them ſo readily obey, he took greater Con- fidence, and deliver'd his laſt Letter to the Se- cretary, written in theſe Terms, " King *Darius* " commands the Perſians who are in *Sardis*, to " kill *Orætes*." Upon the reading of which the

the Guards drew their Scymiters, and kill'd him immediately. Thus Vengeance overtook *Orætes* the Perſian for the Death of *Polycrates*, and all his Treaſures were tranſported to *Suſa*.

Not long after, as *Darius* was hunting, he hurt his Foot by a Fall from his Horſe, ſo grievouſly, that his Heel was diſlocated from the Joint; and thinking he had the beſt of the Ægyptian Phyſicians about him, he made Uſe of their Aſſiſtance. But they by violent pulling and diſtortion of the Part, augmented the Pain to ſuch a Degree, that he lay ſeven Days and ſeven Nights without Sleep. On the eighth Day *Darius* ſtill continuing in a reſtleſs Condition, was inform'd of the Ability of *Democedes* the Crotonian, by one who had heard of him at *Sardis*; and preſently commanded him to be brought into his Preſence. He was found among the Slaves of *Orætes*, altogether neglected; and introduc'd to the King, loaded with Fetters, and cloath'd in Rags. When *Darius* ſaw him, he aſk'd him whether he underſtood the Art of a Phyſician. But he fearing ſuch a Confeſſion might for ever prevent his Return to *Greece*, would not acknowledge his Skill. So that *Darius* ſuſpecting by his Diſcourſe that he knew more than he was willing to confeſs, and commanding thoſe who had brought him thither, to bring out the Inſtruments of Whipping and Torture, *Democedes* preſently declar'd, that indeed he could not pretend to underſtand the Art in Perfection, but had learn'd ſomething by the Converſation of one who was a Phyſician. Upon which being permitted to take Care of *Darius*, he applied Medicines after the Grecian Manner; and bath-

ing the Part with ſtrong Fomentations, gave him Reſt; and in a little Time reſtor'd him to his Health; tho' the King had before deſpair'd of ever recovering the Strength of his Foot. When he had perform'd this Cure, *Darius* preſented him with two Pair of golden Fetters. But *Democedes* aſk'd him, if he meant to reward him with a double Evil for reſtoring his Health. With which Anſwer *Darius* was pleas'd, and ſent him to the Womens Apartment attended by ſome of his Eunuchs; who having inform'd them that this Man had ſav'd the King's Life, every one of his Wives gave *Democedes* a Vial cover'd with a Caſe, and ſo full of Gold, that his Servant *Sciton*, who follow'd him, collected a conſiderable Treaſure, of the Pieces he took up as they fell to the Ground. This *Democedes* came to be known to *Polycrates* in the following Manner. He had liv'd with his Father in *Crotona*; but growing impatient of his exceſſive Severity, remov'd to *Ægina*; where within the Space of a Year, tho' he was altogether unprovided with the Inſtruments requiſite to his Profeſſion, he ſurpaſs'd the moſt ſkilful of their Phyſicians; and the ſecond Year obtain'd a Talent for his Salary out of the Publick Treaſury. The third Year he was entertain'd by the Athenians at the Rate of a hundred Mines; and the fourth by *Polycrates* with a Reward of two Talents; and on that occaſion went to *Samos*. The Crotonian Phyſicians became very famous by the Reputation of this Man, and generally eſteem'd the ableſt of all the Grecians. The Cyrenæans poſſeſs'd the ſecond Place; and the Argians were at the ſame Time accounted the moſt ſkilful in the Art of Muſick.

DEMO-

DEMOCEDES having thus cur'd *Darius*, liv'd at *Suſa*, in a magnificent Houſe, was admitted to the King's Table, and enjoy'd every thing in Abundance, except the Liberty of returning to *Greece*. He obtain'd a Pardon for the Ægyptians, who having been the King's Phyſicians, were condemn'd to be impal'd for ſuffering themſelves to be outdone by a Grecian; and procur'd the Liberty of a certain Prophet of *Elis*, who had attended *Polycrates*, and lay neglected among the Priſoners. In a Word, *Democedes* was the principal Favourite of *Darius*.

NOT long after theſe things had paſs'd, *Atoſſa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*, and Wife to *Darius*, had a Tumour in her Breaſt; which breaking, ſpread ſo far, that tho' in Modeſty ſhe had to that Time conceal'd it from all Perſons, yet finding the Danger to encreaſe, ſhe at laſt ſent for *Democedes*, and ſhew'd him the Ulcer. He preſently promis'd to cure her Breaſt; and at the ſame Time earneſtly deſir'd that ſhe on her Part would confer a Favour upon him, which ſhould be no way diſhonourable to her. When *Atoſſa* was perfectly recover'd, and inſtructed by *Democedes*, ſhe addreſs'd herſelf to *Darius*, as ſhe lay in his Bed, with theſe Words. " 'Tis ſtrange that a " King of ſo great Power ſhould be unactive; " and not rather conquer Nations, and enlarge " the Empire of the Perſians. A young Prince, " poſſeſs'd of ſuch vaſt Treaſures, ought to ren- " der himſelf conſiderable by his Actions, and " to convince his Subjects that they are govern- " ed by a Man. Two Reaſons oblige you to " this Conduct: Firſt that the Perſians may " know they are commanded by a valiant King;

" and then that they may be employ'd in War,
" and not tempted by too much Eaſe to rebel.
" Exert yourſelf therefore, while you are in
" the Flower of your Years. For as the Fa-
" culties of the Mind keep equal Pace with the
" Body in advancing to their utmoſt Vigour:
" So both decline together gradually: And be-
" come uncapable of any Enterprize." Thus *Atoſſa* expreſs'd herſelf at the Sollicitation of *Democedes*, and *Darius* in Anſwer, ſaid, " Wo-
" man, Thou haſt advis'd me to do as I had al-
" ready determin'd. For I reſolve to make
" War upon the Scythians, and to that end
" deſign to lay a Bridge from our Continent
" to the other; which I will do in a ſhort
" Time. Conſider well, ſaid ſhe; and by no
" Means make your firſt Expedition againſt the
" Scythians; who will be an eaſy Conqueſt
" whenever you pleaſe, but take my Advice
" and lead an Army into *Greece*. For the Ac-
" count I have heard of the Lacædemonian,
" Argian, Athenian, and Corinthian Women,
" has inſpir'd me with a vehement Deſire to
" have ſome of them for Servants. Beſides,
" you have the fitteſt Man in the World to
" inform you of every thing concerning *Greece*,
" I mean the Perſon who cur'd your Foot."
" Since then, replied *Darius*, you are of Opi-
" nion that I ought to make my firſt Attempt
" againſt *Greece*, I think convenient to ſend
" ſome Perſons thither with the Man you men-
" tion; in order to diſcover what they can
" relating to the Country; and when they
" have ſatisfied me in all Particulars, I will
" follow with my Army." Having ſaid this, he ſoon began to make good his Word. For early the

the next Morning he ſent for fifteen eminent Perſians, and commanded them to accompany *Democedes* in taking a view of all the maritim Places of *Greece*, and to bring him back again, without affording him any Opportunity of making his Eſcape. After he had given theſe Inſtructions to the Perſians, he ſent alſo for *Democedes*, and enjoyn'd him to return, ſo ſoon as he had aſſiſted them in viewing all the Parts of *Greece*, and diſcovering whatever could be known of their Affairs; commanding him to carry all his Goods and Furniture for a Preſent to his Father and Brothers, and promiſing to furniſh him with better at his Return. He aſſur'd him farther, that he would provide a Ship for the Tranſportation of his Preſents, and would cauſe all things neceſſary and convenient for his Voyage to be embark'd in her. My Opinion is, that *Darius* promis'd him all theſe things ſincerely and without Art: But *Democedes* fearing the King might have a Deſign to try whether he had any Inclination to abandon him, deſir'd he might be permitted to leave his own Goods in his Houſe 'till he ſhould return; and only to accept the Ship with what ſhould be put on board for a Preſent to his Brothers. Thus having receiv'd their Inſtructions, and taken leave of *Darius*, they departed; and paſſing thro' *Phœnicia* arriv'd in the City of *Sidon*: Where having caus'd two Gallies to be made ready with all Diligence for the Tranſportation of their Perſons, and another Ship of great Burden to attend them with all things neceſſary and commodious, they ſet ſail for *Greece*; and after they had view'd and deſcrib'd all the maritim Places, and curi-

ouſly

ouſly obſerv'd whatever is accounted moſt remarkable in that Country, they paſs'd on to *Italy*, and landed at *Tarentum*. But *Ariſtophilides* King of the Tarentins, who was a Native of *Crotona* as well as *Democedes*, took off the Rudders of the Median Ships, and ſiez'd all the Perſians as Spies. During their Confinement *Democedes* went to *Crotona* and in the mean Time *Ariſtophilides* ſet the Perſians at Liberty, and reſtor'd all that he had taken out of their Ships: Upon which they ſet ſail from *Tarentum* in Purſuit of *Democedes*; and arriving in *Crotona*, found him and laid Hands on him in Publick. Some of the Inhabitants dreading the Perſian Power, were for delivering him up; but others took hold on the Perſians, and beat them with Clubs, tho' they admoniſh'd the Crotonians to deſiſt in theſe Terms. "Men of "*Crotona*, conſider what you do, in protecting "one who is a Fugitive from the King: What "will you get by offering this Injury to *Dari*-"*us?* And what will be the Event if you "force this Man from us? Shall we not cer-"tainly make War againſt your City before all "others? And uſe our utmoſt Endeavours "to reduce you into Servitude?" Yet theſe Words were not ſufficient to perſuade the Crotonians; for they not only detain'd *Democedes*, but ſeiz'd the great Ship that attended the Perſians: Who being thus depriv'd of their Guide, reimbark'd in order to return to *Aſia*, without endeavouring to inform themſelves farther concerning *Greece*. At their Departure *Democedes* requir'd them to tell *Darius*, that he was preparing to marry the Daughter of *Milo*; for he was not ignorant that the Name of *Milo*, the famous Athlete,

lete, was well known to the King. And I am inclin'd to believe that *Democedes* ſpar'd no Expence to haſten the Concluſion of this Match, in order to perſuade *Darius* that he was no inconſiderable Perſon in his own Country. After the Perſians departed from *Crotona*, they fell in with ſome Ships near *Iapygia*, and being taken and carried Priſoners thither, were ranſom'd by *Gillus* a baniſh'd Tarentin, and conducted by him to *Darius*: For which Service the King profeſs'd himſelf ready to reward *Gillus* in the Manner he ſhould deſire. But he, relating the Cauſe of his Baniſhment, aſk'd nothing more than to be reſtor'd to his Country by the Authority of *Darius*. Yet leſt all *Greece* ſhould take the Alarm, if a great Fleet ſhould be ſent thro' their Seas to accompany him to *Italy*, he ſaid the King might eaſily effect his Reſtitution by the Cnidians alone, becauſe they were in Amity with the Tarentins. This Expedient *Darius* approv'd; and having diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to require the Cnidians in his Name, to conduct *Gillus* to *Tarentum*, they readily obey'd his Orders; but could obtain nothing from the Tarentins, and were not ſtrong enough to conſtrain them by Force. In this Manner theſe Things paſs'd; and the Perſians I have mention'd, were the firſt, who went from *Aſia* to diſcover the Affairs of *Greece*.

AFTER theſe Tranſactions, *Darius* conquer'd *Samos*; which was the firſt of all the Cities he took either from the Grecians or Barbarians. The Cauſe was this. During the Expedition of *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus* againſt *Ægypt*, many Grecians reſorted thither; partly, as one may conjecture, on Account of Trade, and partly, to take

take a View of the Country. Among the laſt was *Syloſon* the Son of *Æaces*; brother to *Polycrates*, and an Exile of *Samos*. His good Fortune led him to make uſe of a ſcarlet Cloak, with which he cover'd himſelf, and walk'd publickly in the Streets of *Memphis*. *Darius*, who was one of *Cambyſes*'s Guards, and made no great Figure at that Time, looking upon him, grew deſirous of the Cloak, and aſk'd him if he would ſell it. *Syloſon* perceiving *Darius* to be paſſionately fond of the Garment, made this Anſwer, as if he had been extraordinarily inſpir'd, "I "would not ſell my Cloak for any Riches; yet "if you deſire it ſo much, I will give it you "for a Preſent." *Darius* accepting his Offer with Thanks, took the Cloak; and *Syloſon* thought himſelf a Loſer by his forward Generoſity. But when, after the Death of *Cambyſes*, and the Deſtruction of the Mages by the ſeven Perſians, *Darius*, who had been one of that Number, was advanc'd to the Throne, *Syloſon* hearing that the Kingdom was fallen into the Hands of the Man he had preſented with his Cloak in *Ægypt*, went to *Suſa*, and ſitting at the Gates of the Palace, ſaid he had been a Benefactor to *Darius*: Which being reported to the King by one of the Doorkeepers, he anſwer'd with Surprize, "What Grecian is this, "who pretends to have conferr'd Benefits upon me, and to be reſpected on that Account? "I have but lately taken Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and few or none of that Country have "been ſeen here: Neither can I remember "that I am at all oblig'd to any Grecian. However bring in the Man, that I may know the "meaning of his Words." The Doorkeeper preſently

preſently introduc'd *Syloſon*, and as he ſtood in the Midſt of the Company, the Interpreters aſk'd him, who he was, and what he meant by ſaying he had been a Benefactor to the King. Then *Syloſon* related what had paſs'd between *Darius* and himſelf concerning the Cloak; and having own'd that he was the Perſon who had made him that Preſent, the King anſwer'd, "O "thou moſt generous of Men! Art thou then "the Man, from whoſe Hands I receiv'd that "Gift; which tho' ſmall in itſelf, yet at that "Time, when I had no Power, was of no leſs "Value to me, than a very great thing would "be now? I will reward thee with great A-"bundance of Gold and Silver, that thou "mayſt not repent thy Kindneſs to *Darius* "the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*." O King, replied "*Syloſon*, give me neither Gold nor Silver; "but ſave my Country, which ever ſince the "Death of my Brother *Polycrates*, who was "kill'd by *Orætes*, has been uſurp'd by one "of our Servants: Give me, I ſay, *Samos* "without Blood, and without the Expulſion "of my Countrymen." When *Darius* had heard his Requeſt, he ſent an Army under the Conduct of *Otanes*, one of the ſeven, with Orders to act in Conformity to the Deſires of *Syloſon*. And being thus inſtructed *Otanes* march'd to the Sea-Coaſt, and imbark'd his Army for *Samos*.

In the mean Time *Mæandrus* the Son of *Mæandrius* had taken upon him the Government of *Samos*; which had been committed to his Care by *Polycrates*; and reſolving to ſhew himſelf an honeſt Man, was thus prevented from accompliſhing his Intention. When he heard of the Death of

of *Polycrates*, he preſently erected an Altar to *Jupiter* the Deliverer, and mark'd out the Ground for a Temple, which is now ſeen in the Suburbs of the City. Having done this, he ſummon'd a general Aſſembly of the Citizens, and made the following Speech. "You know, ſaid he, that "I was entruſted with the Scepter and all the "Power of *Polycrates*, and that the Government "is wholly in my Hands. But I will uſe the "beſt of my Endeavours to abſtain from a Crime, "which I ſhould condemn in another. For the "arbitrary Power aſſum'd by *Polycrates* over Men "equal to himſelf, was never approv'd by me; "neither ſhall I ever approve the like in a-"ny other Perſon. Now ſeeing the Decree of "Fate has been accompliſh'd by his Death, I "ſurrender the Government into your Hands, "and proclaim an equal Liberty to all. Only "I deſire you would grant me ſix Talents "out of the Wealth of *Polycrates*; and confer "upon me, and my Deſcendents for ever, the "Prieſthood of the Temple I have built to *Jupi-*"*ter* the Deliverer, as a juſt Reward of my Ser-"vice in reſtoring your Liberties." When *Mæandrus* had made theſe Demands, *Teleſearchus*, an eminent Citizen of *Samos*, ſtanding up in the Aſſembly ſaid, "Thou art utterly unworthy to "govern us, and deſervedly obnoxious to ac-"count for the Treaſures thou haſt imbezzled. "For thou waſt born to be a publick Peſt, and "common Calamity." *Mæandrus* perceiving by the Tenour of theſe Words, that if he ſhould diveſt himſelf of the Power, ſome other would aſſume the Tyranny in his Place, reſolv'd to keep Poſſeſſion of the Government. To which end retiring

retiring to the Caſtle, and ſending for the Citizens thither, under Colour of giving them an Account of the publick Treaſure, ſeiz'd their Perſons, as they came, one after the other. But whilſt they were under Confinement, he fell ſick; and his Brother *Lycaretus* imagining he could not recover, kill'd all the Priſoners, that he might with greater Facility uſurp the Dominion of *Samos*; where Men ſeem'd to retain ſo little Affection for Liberty, that when the Perſians came before the City with *Syloſon*, no Man lifted up a Hand againſt them; and *Mæandrus* with thoſe of his Party, offer'd to depart the Iſland under a Promiſe of Protection: Which Propoſition when *Otanes* had accepted, and a Truce was agreed on both ſides, the principal Men of the Perſians ſat down in their Chariots before the Caſtle. In the mean Time *Charilaus* another Brother of *Mæandrus*, and extravagantly fooliſh, was kept Priſoner in a Dungeon for ſome Fault he had committed. This Man having overheard what was doing, and from an Aperture of his Priſon obſerv'd the Perſians ſitting in great Tranquillity, demanded with many Exclamations to ſpeak with *Mæandrus*: Which *Mæandrus* hearing, commanded him to be brought into his Preſence: Where immediately after his Admiſſion, he began with opprobrious and reviling Language to excite him to fall upon the Perſians. "Thou art, "ſaid he, the baſeſt of Men: Thou haſt "thrown me into a Dungeon, who am thy "Brother, and have done nothing to deſerve "ſuch Uſage; but haſt not Courage enough "to avenge thyſelf on the Perſians, tho' no-"thing be more eaſy, and thou know'ſt they "are

" are come to drive thee out of thy Country.
" If thy Fears are ſo great, lend me thy Aux-
" iliary Forces, and I will not only make them
" repent their coming; but expel thee out of
" the Iſland likewiſe." *Mæandrus* readily accepted the Offer of *Charilaus:* Not, as I ſuppoſe, that he was ſo deſtitute of Underſtanding, to imagine his own Power ſuperior to that of the King; but out of Envy to *Syloſon*, who, he ſaw, would otherwiſe poſſeſs himſelf of the City without Reſiſtance. He reſolv'd therefore to provoke the Perſians, and by this Means to weaken the Power of the Samians, before they ſhould fall into the Hands of *Syloſon.* For he knew the Perſians would not fail to take a ſevere Revenge againſt the Samians for the Outrages they ſhould ſuffer: And, as for himſelf, he could make his Eſcape out of the Iſland at his Pleaſure; which he did afterwards by a private Paſſage he had made under Ground, leading from the Caſtle to the Sea. In the mean Time *Charilaus* having arm'd the Auxiliaries, ſet open the Gates; and ſallying out upon the Perſians, who expected not any Hoſtility, and thought every thing had been agreed, ſurpriz'd and kill'd the principal Men among them as they were ſitting in their Seats. But the reſt of the Army taking the Alarm, came in to their Succour, and repuls'd the Auxiliaries into the Caſtle. When *Otanes* the General ſaw the great Loſs he had ſuſtain'd by the Slaughter of theſe Perſians, he neglected to obey the Orders given him by *Darius* at his Departure, importing that he ſhould neither kill nor take Priſoner any Samian, but deliver the Iſland to *Syloſon* without Damage; and on the contrary commanded

manded his Army to put all the Samians they ſhould find to the Sword, without ſparing the Children. So that while one Part of his Forces was employ'd in beſieging the Caſtle, the reſt kill'd all they met, as well within the Temples as in other Places. *Mæandrus* made his Eſcape by Sea, and fled from *Samos* to *Lacedæmon*; and, ſoon after his Arrival with the Riches he had carried off, order'd his Servants to take out and cleanſe his Cups of Gold and Silver, and at the ſame Time conducted *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandrides*, and then King of *Sparta*, to his Houſe, diſcourſing together. The King viewing the Cups, was fill'd with Surprize and Aſtoniſhment: Which *Mæandrus* perceiving, ſolicited him to take whatever he deſir'd, and repeated his Offer ſeveral Times. But *Cleomenes* ſhew'd himſelf an honeſt Man, by refuſing ſtedfaſtly to accept any thing; and being afterwards inform'd that other Citizens had receiv'd his Preſents, he went to the Ephori, and told them it was neceſſary to expel this Samian out of *Peloponneſus*, leſt he ſhould corrupt him or others of the Spartans. Upon which they took his Advice, and baniſh'd him by publick Proclamation. In the mean Time the Perſians put *Samos* into the Hands of *Syloſon*, plunder'd and depopulated. But *Otanes* the Perſian General repeopled the City afterwards, upon a Viſion he ſaw in a Dream, and a Diſtemper which ſeiz'd him in his private Parts.

While theſe Forces were employ'd in this Naval Expedition againſt *Samos*, the Babylonians revolted, after they had provided all things neceſſary to that Purpoſe. For during the Uſurpa-

tion of the Mage, and the Enterprize of the ſeven, they had made Uſe of thoſe Times of Confuſion to prepare themſelves to ſuſtain a Siege, and had not been diſcover'd. But when they appear'd in open Rebellion, they took the following Method to prevent the Conſumption of their Proviſions. They preſerv'd their Mothers in general: And after they had permitted every Man to reſerve the Wife he beſt lov'd, with another Woman to make his Bread, they aſſembled all the reſt together and ſtrangled them. *Darius* being inform'd of theſe Affairs, drew all his Forces out; march'd to *Babylon*, and beſieg'd the City. But the Babylonians not at all ſolicitous about the Event mounting the Ramparts of the Wall, fell to dancing; and derided *Darius* with his Army; one of them adventuring to ſpeak in this Manner to the Perſians; "What Buſineſs have you here to "detain you? Decamp rather and march off: "For you will not be Maſters of this Place "till a Mule brings forth a Colt:" Which Words were ſpoken by the Babylonian in full aſſurance that a Mule could never breed. When *Darius* had ſpent a Year and ſeven Months before *Babylon*, and was grown no leſs uneaſy than his Army with the tedious Length of that Siege, he endeavour'd by various Stratagems and Artifices to take the Place, and among others by that which had ſucceeded ſo well with *Cyrus*; but all his Efforts were rendred ineffectual by the unwearied Vigilance of the Babylonians. In the twentieth Month of this Siege, a Prodigy happen'd in the Quarters of *Zopyrus*, the Son of *Megabyſus* one of the ſeven Perſians who deſtroy'd the Mage. For a Mule

that

that carried his Proviſions brought forth a Colt: Which *Zopyrus* hearing, and doubting the Truth of ſo ſtrange an Event, he went to the Place; and after he had fully ſatisfied himſelf, ſtrictly commanded all that were preſent to conceal the thing: And becauſe he well remembred the Words of the Babylonian, who ſaid, "The "City might be taken when Mules ſhould begin "to breed;" He concluded that the Man had ſpoken, and the Mule brought a Colt, by the Influence of a divine Power; and that therefore the Time for reducing *Babylon* was come. In this Perſuaſion *Zopyrus* going to *Darius*, aſk'd him if the taking of *Babylon* would be acceptable to him; and being aſſur'd by the King that he vehemently deſir'd to repoſſeſs himſelf of that Place, he began to conſider by what Means he alone might accompliſh the Work: For among the Perſians great Atchievements are the Steps by which Men aſcend to the higheſt Honours. And after mature Deliberation, finding no other poſſible Way to compaſs his Deſign, than by mutilating his Body, and in that Condition deſerting to the Enemy; he laid aſide all Regard to the Dignity of his Perſon, and having cut off his Noſe and Ears, whipp'd himſelf, and cut his Hair in the moſt indecent Manner, went thus horribly disfigur'd into the Preſence of *Darius*. The King in the utmoſt Surprize to ſee a Man of his Rank ſo atrociouſly mangled, roſe up haſtily from his Throne, and with loud Exclamation aſk'd, who had been the Author of that Outrage, and on what Occaſion. "You alone, an-"ſwer'd *Zopyrus*; for no other Perſon could "have treated me in this Manner; tho' I my-

" ſelf was the immediate Executioner; becauſe
" I could no longer ſee the Perſians baffled by
" the Aſſyrians." Wretched Man, ſaid *Darius*,
" thou haſt endeavour'd to put a fair Colour
" on a foul Action; pretending to have in-
" flicted this Indignity on thyſelf by Reaſon
" of the Siege. Art thou ſo fooliſh to believe
" the Babylonians will ſurrender the ſooner
" for thy Wounds? Or rather hadſt thou not
" loſt thy Underſtanding, before the Commiſ-
" ſion of this cruel Fact?" " Had I, replied
" *Zopyrus*, inform'd you of my Intentions, you
" would not have permitted me to proceed. But
" becauſe I conſulted only with myſelf, I have
" executed my Deſign; and if your Troops
" are not wanting to themſelves, we ſhall take
" *Babylon*. For I will deſert to the Babyloni-
" ans in this Condition, and tell them I have
" ſuffer'd theſe Indignities from you; and
" when I ſhall have perſuaded them of my
" Sincerity, I doubt not to obtain the Com-
" mand of their Forces. My Opinion there-
" fore is, that on the tenth Day after my De-
" parture, you would command a thouſand Men
" of thoſe you leaſt value, to march up to
" the Gate of *Semiramis*; two thouſand on
" the ſeventh Day after to the Gate of *Ninus*;
" and twenty Days from the Expiration of
" that Term, four thouſand more to that of
" the Chaldæans. But none of theſe Par-
" ties are to be permitted to carry any other
" Arms, than Swords only for their Defence.
" After the twentieth Day is paſs'd, command
" all the reſt of the Army to march up directly
" to the Walls, with particular Orders to the
" Perſians, to poſt themſelves at the Gates of
" *Belus*

" *Belus* and *Ciſſia*. For unleſs I deceive myſelf, " the Babylonians will not fail among other " things to entruſt me with the Keys of the " Gates, in Conſideration of my great Actions: " And then I and the Perſians will take care to " perform the reſt." When he had given this Advice, he took his Way towards the City; and the better to act the Part of a Deſerter, look'd frequently behind him as he went. The Guards who were plac'd on the Towers ſeeing him approaching, went down, and drawing back the Gate aſk'd him who he was? And what Buſineſs brought him thither? He anſwer'd, he was *Zopyrus*, and deſir'd to be receiv'd into the City: Which the Guards hearing, they conducted him to the Common Hall; where he was no ſooner admitted, than he began to deplore his Condition, and aſſur'd them he had ſuffer'd from *Darius* what indeed he had done to himſelf; for adviſing him to break up the Siege, becauſe he ſaw no Appearance of taking the City. " Now therefore, ſaid he " to the Babylonians, I put myſelf into your " Hands, with a Reſolution to do you the great- " eſt Service, and all poſſible Miſchief to *Da-* " *rius*, his Army, and to the Perſians. For I " will not be long unreveng'd of his Cruelty; " ſince I am perfectly inform'd of all his Coun- " ſels and Deſigns." The Babylonians ſeeing a Man of that Diſtinction among the Perſians depriv'd of his Ears and Noſe, and cover'd with Wounds and Blood, never doubted the Truth of his Words; and aſſuring themſelves of his Aſſiſtance, ſhew'd a Readineſs to grant him whatever he would aſk. Accordingly he deſir'd the Command of ſome Forces; and having ob-

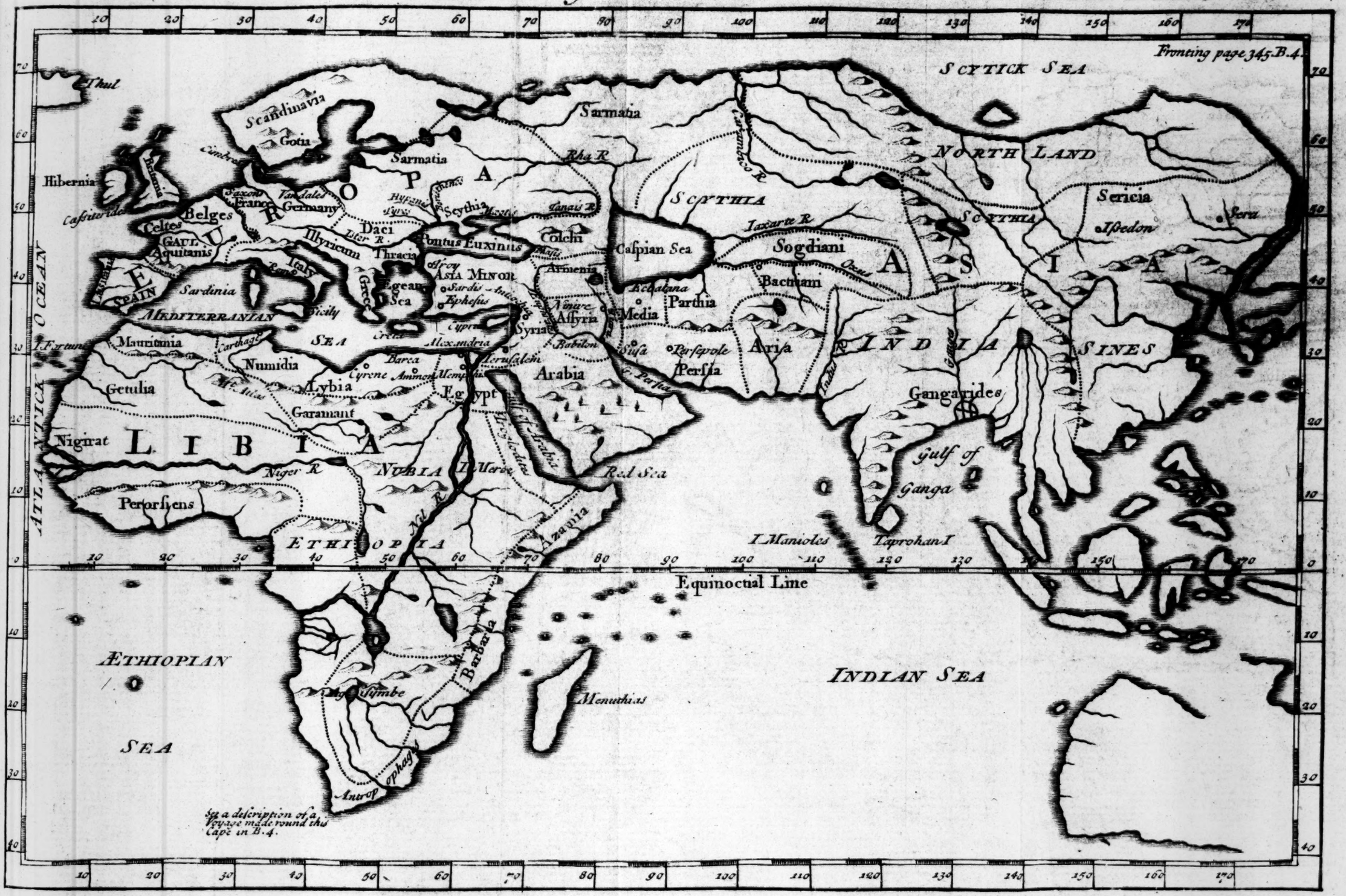
tain'd his Requeſt, acted as he had preconcerted with *Darius*. For on the tenth Day he ſallied out of the City at the Head of the Babylonians, and ſurrounding the thouſand Men that *Darius* had already ſent in purſuance of their Project, he cut them all in Pieces on the Spot. When the Babylonians ſaw that his Actions were ſuitable to his Promiſes, they expreſs'd their Joy in an extraordinary Manner, and declar'd themſelves ready to ſupply him with all things he ſhould demand. *Zopyrus* therefore at the Time prefix'd by *Darius* and himſelf, drew out another Party, and kill'd two thouſand more of his Men; which ſecond Action ſo pleas'd the Babylonians, that the Name of *Zopyrus* became the general Subject of their Praiſes. In Concluſion, he march'd out a third Time, and leading his Troops to the Place appointed, ſurpriz'd and cut in Pieces the other four thouſand. Upon which Succeſs *Zopyrus* acquir'd ſo great Credit in *Babylon*, that he was conſtituted General, and had the Guard of the City committed to his Care. But when *Darius* advanc'd with his whole Army to ſurround the Body of the Place, purſuant to the Agreement they had made, then *Zopyrus* diſcover'd his Treachery. For whilſt the Babylonians were defending themſelves from the Walls againſt the Army of *Darius*, *Zopyrus* open'd the Gates of *Belus* and *Ciſſia*, and introduc'd the Perſians into the City. Thoſe who ſaw this traiterous Action, fled into the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*; and thoſe who perceiv'd nothing of what paſs'd, continued in their ſeveral Poſts, till they were inform'd in what Manner they had been betray'd. Thus *Babylon* was taken a ſecond Time;

Time; and *Darius* becoming Maſter of the Place, not only demoliſh'd the Walls and Gates, which had been left intire by *Cyrus*, but commanded about three thouſand of the principal Leaders to be impal'd, and then gave Leave to the reſt to continue in their Habitations. And becauſe the Babylonians had ſtrangled their Women, as I ſaid before, in order to prevent the Conſumption of their Proviſions; he took care to furniſh them with Wives, that they might not be deſtitute of Children: And to that End enjoyn'd the neighbouring Provinces to ſend a certain number of Women to *Babylon*, amounting in all to fifty thouſand; and from theſe the Babylonians of our Time are deſcended. Touching *Zopyrus*, the Judgment of *Darius* was, that by the Generoſity of this Action he had ſurpaſs'd all the Perſians of his own or preceding Times, *Cyrus* only excepted; with whom no Perſian ever thought himſelf worthy to be compar'd. 'Tis alſo reported that he frequently us'd to ſay, he would rather wiſh *Zopyrus* had ſuffer'd no Hurt, than to acquire twenty more *Babylons*. However, he rewarded him magnificently; for beſides annual Preſents conſiſting of all thoſe things which are accounted moſt honourable among the Perſians, he gave him the Revenues of *Babylon* for Life, free from any Manner of Charge. *Megabyſus*, afterwards General in *Ægypt* againſt the Athenians and their Allies, was Son of this *Zopyrus*; and Father to another of that Name, who abandon'd the Perſians, and voluntarily deſerted to *Athens*.



A MAP of the WORLD *as far as it was known to the* ANTIENTS

Fronting page 345. B. 4.



THE

History of *Herodotus*.

Book IV.

MELPOMENE.

AFTER the Reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an Expedition againſt *Scythia*; and ſeeing *Aſia* abounding in Men and Riches, grew very deſirous to revenge himſelf upon the Scythians; who without Provocation had formerly invaded the Territories of *Media*, and defeated all thoſe who appear'd in Arms againſt them. The Scythians, as I have ſaid already, continued twenty eight Years in the Poſſeſſion of *Upper-Aſia*; having enter'd thoſe Provinces in Purſuit of the Cimmerians, and ſuppreſs'd the Power of the Medes, who before that Time were Maſters of all *Aſia*. But after they had ſpent ſo many Years abroad, they met with as great Difficulties in returning to their own Country, as they had encounter'd before in *Media*, and found an Army of no inconſiderable Force ready to oppoſe their Entrance. For during ſo long a Time of Abſence, the Wives of thoſe Scythians had us'd the Company of their Slaves; who are all blind, and ſerve to draw the Milk they drink in this Manner. They have Bones ſhap'd like Flutes;

Flutes; which being apply'd to the genital Part of a Mare, one of theſe Slaves blows with his Mouth, whilſt another milks the Beaſt. They ſay this Invention is practis'd, becauſe the Wind makes the Veins of the Mare to grow turgid, and her Teats to deſcend. When the Milk is drawn, and pour'd into hollow Veſſels of Wood, the blind Men ſtanding round the Tubs beat it for ſome Time. Then they ſkim off the Subſtance which lies uppermoſt, and is eſteem'd the moſt precious; leaving the reſt, as of leſs Value. And on this Account the Scythians put out the Eyes of all the Priſoners they take; never applying their Care to Huſbandry; but only to the keeping of Cattle. Born of theſe Slaves and the Wives of the Scythians, a new Generation was grown up, who knowing their own Extraction, marched out to oppoſe the Return of thoſe that came from *Media*. To this End they fortified the Frontier of the Country by a broad Ditch, carried on from Mount *Taurus* to the Lake *Mæotis*, which is the greateſt of all others, and when the Scythians endeavour'd to force their Intrenchments, they drew together and made a vigorous Reſiſtance. The Scythians repeated the Attempt ſeveral Times, and were as often repuls'd; upon which one among them ſaid, "Men of *Scythia*, What can we "mean by making War with our Slaves? If we "are kill'd, our own Power diminiſhes; and if "we kill, we leſſen the Number of thoſe we "ought to command. My Opinion therefore "is, that we would lay aſide our Bows and "Spears, and every one taking his Horſe-whip "in his Hand go directly to them in that Po-

"ſture,

" ſture. For ſo long as they ſhall ſee us arm'd, " ſo long they will think themſelves equal to " us, and born of as good Blood as we. But " when they ſhall perceive us approaching with " our Whips inſtead of Arms, they will ſoon be " convinc'd they are our Servants, and under " that Apprehenſion will reſiſt no more." The Scythians did as he advis'd, and the Slaves ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment forgot they were to fight, and fled away. Thus the Scythians, who had the Dominion of *Aſia*, and were afterwards expell'd by the Medes, return'd to their own Country: And *Darius* deſiring to take Revenge, aſſembled an Army, in order to invade their Territories.

THE Scythians ſay their Nation is of a later Original than any other, and began in this Manner. The firſt Man that appear'd in *Scythia*, then an uninhabited Deſert, was *Targitaus*, concerning whom they relate things incredible to me. For they affirm that he was born of *Jupiter* and a Daughter of the River *Boryſthenes*: That he had three Sons who went by the Names of *Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*: That during their Reign a Plow, with a Yoke, an Axe, and a Bowl, all of Gold, fell down from Heaven into *Scythia*: That the eldeſt, who ſaw thoſe things firſt, approaching with Deſign to take them up, found them burning hot, and retir'd: That the ſecond came immediately after, and found the Gold in the ſame Condition: That when they had both withdrawn themſelves from the burning Metal, the youngeſt Son advanc'd, and finding the Fire extinguiſh'd, carried away the things with him; and that the elder Brothers

having obſerv'd this Event, ſurrendred the Kingdom to the youngeſt. They farther ſay, that the Auchatian Scythians are deſcended from *Lipoxais*; the Catiarians and Traſpians from *Apoxais*; and the Race of their Kings, which they call Paralates, from *Colaxais*, the third Son of *Targitaus*. They give themſelves the general Name of Scolotes; which is alſo the Surname of their Kings: But the Grecians call them Scythians. This Account they give of their Original; and reckon about a thouſand Years at moſt, from the Reign of *Targitaus* the firſt King of *Scythia*, to the Time they were invaded by *Darius*. The Kings take all imaginable Care to preſerve the ſacred Gold, and annually aſſiſt at the magnificent Sacrifices, which are offer'd to thoſe holy Inſtruments. If he who has the Guard of theſe things on the Feſtival Day, happen to fall aſleep in the open Air, the Scythians ſay he cannot live long, and therefore make him a preſent of as much Land as he can ride over on Horſeback in one Day. *Colaxais* perceiving the Country to be of vaſt Extent, divided the Kingdom between his three Sons; and made that Share moſt conſiderable, where the Gold which fell from Heaven, is kept. The Scythians ſay, that thoſe Parts which are ſituate to the Northward of their Territories, are neither viſible nor practicable, by reaſon of the Feathers that fall continually on all ſides. For the Earth is intirely cover'd, and the Air ſo full of theſe Feathers, that the Sight is altogether obſtructed. Theſe things are related by the Scythians concerning themſelves, and the Regions that lye above them. But the Grecians who inhabit *Pontus* give a different Account; and ſay, that

as *Hercules* was driving away the Cows of *Geryon*, he arriv'd in the Country now poſſeſs'd by the Scythians; which was then an uninhabited Deſert; and that *Geryon* liv'd in an Iſland by the Grecians call'd *Erythia*, remote from *Pontus*, and ſituate not far from *Gades*, beyond the Columns of *Hercules* upon the Ocean. They likewiſe affirm that the Ocean riſing in the Eaſt ſurrounds the whole Earth; but bring no Proof of their Aſſertion: That *Hercules* in his Return paſs'd thro' the Country, which is now call'd *Scythia*; and finding the Weather cold and froſty, lay down to ſleep wrapp'd in the Lyon's Skin: That while he ſlept, the Mares which drew his Chariot, led by a divine Hand, ſtray'd from the Place where they fed; and that when he awak'd he ſought them all over the Country, and coming to a Place call'd *Hylæa*, found a Creature of an ambiguous Nature, reſembling a Virgin from the Thighs upwards, and ſhap'd like a Serpent in the lower Parts. Aſtoniſh'd at the Sight, he aſk'd her if ſhe had ſeen his Mares. She told him they were in her Power; but that ſhe would not reſtore them, unleſs he would lye with her: To which he conſented, in order to recover his Mares. Nevertheleſs ſhe delay'd to perform her Promiſe, out of a Deſire to enjoy the Company of *Hercules* as long as ſhe could; 'till finding him no leſs deſirous to depart, ſhe reſtor'd the Mares, and ſpoke to him in theſe Terms. "I preſerv'd "your Mares when they ſtray'd hither, and you "have given me the Recompence of my Care; "for I have three Sons by you. Tell me there- "fore how I ſhall diſpoſe of them when they are "grown up: Whether they ſhall continue to

"live

" live in this Country, where I am Miſtreſs?
" or whether I ſhall ſend them to you?" To this Queſtion *Hercules* anſwer'd; " When you
" ſee the Children arriv'd to the Age of Men,
" you cannot err, if you retain in theſe Regions
" that Son, who ſhall be found capable of draw-
" ing this Bow and wearing this Belt, and ſend
" away thoſe who ſhall be of inferior Force. If
" you do this, you will conſult your own Happi-
" neſs, and perform my Orders." Then drawing out one of his Bows (for he carried two at that Time) and delivering it into her Hands, with the Belt, which had a golden Cup hanging at the loweſt Seam, he took Leave and went away. When her Sons had attain'd to the Age of Men, ſhe nam'd the eldeſt *Agathyrſis*, the ſecond *Gelonus*, and the youngeſt *Scytha*; and remembring the Orders of *Hercules*, put them in Execution, as he had enjoyn'd; but finding two of her Sons, *Agathyrſis* and *Gelonus*, unable to perform the things requir'd, ſhe ſent them out of the Country; retaining *Scytha* her youngeſt Son with her, becauſe he had accompliſh'd the Will of his Father. All the Kings of *Scythia* have been the Deſcendants of this *Scytha* the Son of *Hercules*; and from his Time the Scythians have always carried a Cup faſten'd to the lower Part of their Belt. Theſe things are reported by the Grecians who inhabit *Pontus*: But another Relation, which ſeems more probable to me, runs in this Manner. The Scythian Nomades were once Inhabitants of *Aſia*, and being harraſs'd by the Maſſagetes with frequent Wars, they paſs'd the River *Araxes*, and enter'd the Country of the Cimmerians; who, they ſay, were the ancient Poſſeſſors of thoſe Regions

Regions which are now inhabited by the Scythians. The Cimmerians finding themſelves invaded by the Scythians with a numerous Army, aſſembled in Council, but could not come to any Agreement, becauſe the Kings and the People were of different Sentiments; both founded upon ſtrong Reaſons, tho' that of the Kings was the more generous. For the People were of Opinion to abſtain from Force, and not put all to hazard againſt ſo great a Multitude. But the Kings on the contrary advis'd, that they would oppoſe the Invaders of their Country by Arms. Thus when neither the People would aſſent to the Perſuaſions of the Kings, nor the Kings to thoſe of the People; and one Party reſolv'd to depart without fighting, and leave their Poſſeſſions to the Invaders; whilſt the other reflecting on the great Advantages they had enjoy'd at Home, and the apparent Evils they muſt ſuffer if they ſhould forſake their Country, determin'd rather to dye on the Spot, than betake themſelves to Flight with the Multitude: In this Contrariety of Opinions they divided; and being equal in Numbers, the two Parties engag'd in Battle, and all thoſe who fell in the Diſpute, were buried by the reſt of the People near the River *Tyras*; where their Sepulchre remains to this Day. When the Cimmerians had perform'd that Office, they abandon'd the Country and left it intirely diſpeopled in the Poſſeſſion of the Scythians. Divers Ports and Walls are ſtill ſeen in *Scythia*, which retain the Name of Cimmerian; together with a whole Province, and a Boſphorus or a narrow Sea. 'Tis certain the Cimmerians who fled from the Scythians into

Aſia,

Aſia, ſettled in that Peninſula where the City of *Sinope*, a Colony of the Grecians, was afterwards built: And 'tis no leſs evident that the Scythians purſuing them, fell into *Media*, and miſtook their Way. For the Cimmerians in all their Flight never abandon'd the Coaſt of the Sea: Whereas the Scythians in their Purſuit leaving Mount *Caucaſus* on the right Hand, deflected towards the midland Countries, and ſo enter'd *Media*. Another Report is generally current as well among the Grecians as Barbarians. For *Ariſteas*, a Poet of *Proconneſus* and Son to *Cauſtrobius*, ſays in his Verſes, that he was tranſported by *Apollo* into the Territories of the Iſſedonians; beyond which the Arimaſpians inhabit, who are a People that have only one Eye; that the next Region abounds in Griffins, which guard the Gold of the Country; and that the Hyperboreans are ſituate yet farther, and extend themſelves to the Sea: That all theſe, except the Hyperboreans, following the Example of the Arimaſpians, were continually employ'd in making War againſt their Neighbours: That the Iſſedonians were expell'd by the Arimaſpians; the Scythians by the Iſſedonians; and that the Cimmerians, who inhabited on the South-Sea, were forc'd by the Scythians to abandon their Country. So that this *Ariſteas* differs from the Scythians in the Account he gives of theſe Regions. I have already mention'd the Place of his Birth, and ſhall now add what I heard concerning him in *Proconneſus* and *Cyzicus*. *Ariſteas*, ſay they, who was inferior to no Man of the City in any kind, entring one Day into a Fuller's Shop, died ſuddenly: Upon which the Fuller, after

after he had ſhut up his Door, went and acquainted the Relation of the Deceas'd with what had happen'd. When the News of his Death had ſpread over the City, a certain Cyzicenian arriving from *Artace*, diſputed the Truth of the Report; affirming that he had ſeen and convers'd with him in his Way to *Cyzicus*; and while he perſiſted obſtinately to maintain his Aſſertion, the Relations of *Ariſteas* had been at the Fuller's Shop, with all things neceſſary for removing the Body, but could not find him either alive or dead. In the ſeventh Year he appear'd again in *Proconneſus*; compos'd thoſe Verſes, which by the Grecians are call'd Arimaſpian, and then diſappear'd a ſecond Time. Theſe things are commonly reported in the Cities I have mention'd; and that which follows happen'd among the Metapontins of *Italy* three hundred and forty Years after the ſecond Diſappearing of *Ariſteas* the Proconneſian, as I found by Computation in *Proconneſus* and *Metapontium*: At which Time, the Metapontins ſay, *Ariſteas* appear'd in their City, and exhorted them to erect an Altar to *Apollo*, and a Statue by that Altar, which ſhould bear the Name of *Ariſteas* the Proconneſian; telling them, "They were the only "Nation of the Italian Coaſt which had ever "been favour'd with the Preſence of *Apollo*; "that he himſelf attended the God, and was "then a Crow; tho' now he went under the "Name of *Ariſteas*." Having pronounc'd theſe Words he vaniſh'd; and the Metapontins ſay they went to *Delphi* to inquire of the God concerning the Apparition; and that the Pythian in Anſwer admoniſh'd them to obey the

Phantom, and their Affairs ſhould be proſperous. In purſuance therefore of this Oracle, they did as *Ariſteas* had deſir'd, and his Statue is ſeen to this Day in the publick Place, erected near the Image of *Apollo*, and ſurrounded with Laurels. Thus much I thought fit to ſay concerning *Ariſteas*.

No Man knows, with certainty, the Countries that lye beyond thoſe, about which I am now to ſpeak; neither could I ever find a Perſon who had view'd them with his own Eyes. *Ariſteas* himſelf, who is juſt now mention'd, ſays, in his Verſes, that he went no farther than the Iſſedonians, and that he learnt from them whatever he relates touching thoſe Parts. Nevertheleſs, I ſhall repeat, as fully as I can, all that I have heard concerning this Matter. Above the principal Port of the Boryſthenians, which is ſituate in the midſt of the maritim Places of *Scythia*, the firſt People ſeen are the Callipedes, who derive their Original from *Greece*; and next to theſe is another Nation, call'd Halazons. Both theſe obſerve the Cuſtoms of the Scythians; except only that they ſow Wheat, Onions, Garlick, Lentils, and Millet, for Food; whereas the Scythians, who lye beyond the Halazons, and are Huſbandmen, ſow Wheat, not for Food, but Sale. The Neurians are the next People, and I am inform'd that the northern Parts of their Country are utterly uninhabited. Theſe Nations are ſituate along the River *Hypanis*, on the Weſt Side of the *Boryſthenes*. But if we paſs over to the other Side of the *Boryſthenes* from the Sea, we ſhall firſt enter into *Hylæa*, and then into another Region poſſeſs'd by Scythians, who apply themſelves

themſelves to Agriculture, and are call'd Boryſthenians, by thoſe Grecians who inhabit on the *Hypanis*; tho' they give themſelves the Name of Olbiopolitans. Theſe Scythian Huſbandmen poſſeſs, to the Eaſtward, a Country of three Days March, extending to the River call'd *Panticapes*; and of eleven Days Sail by the *Boryſthenes* to the Northward. Beyond this Region lyes a vaſt Deſart, and beyond that Deſart, a Country inhabited by the Androphages, or Man-eaters, who are a diſtinct People, and not of Scythian Extraction. All beyond this is uninhabited, no Man being found there, that we know. To the Eaſtward of thoſe Scythians who apply themſelves to the Culture of Land, and on the other Side of the River *Panticapes*, the Country is inhabited by Scythians, who neither plow nor ſow, but are employ'd in keeping Cattle; none of thoſe Parts producing Trees, except *Hylæa* only. Theſe Herdſmen poſſeſs a Tract of Land of fourteen Days March from the Eaſt to the River *Gerrhus*. On the other Side of this River are the Royal Provinces, full of People, and poſſeſs'd by the moſt valiant of all the Scythians, who think all the reſt to be only their Slaves. Their Country extends from the South to Mount *Taurus*; and from the Eaſt to the Intrenchments that were made by the Sons of the blind Men, and to the Port of *Chremni*, on the Lake *Mæotis*; beſides that Part which borders upon the River *Tanais*. Above theſe Royal Scythians the Melanchlæni-ans inhabit to the Northward; a diſtinct Nation, and not of Scythian Race. But beyond them all is full of Fens, and uninhabited, as we are inform'd.

THE Regions that lye beyond the River *Tanais*, are no Part of *Scythia*. The firſt Portion belongs to the Sauromatians; who inhabit a Country of fifteen Days March from the fartheſt Part of the Lake *Mæotis* to the Northward, deſtitute of all kind of Trees, either wild or cultivated. The ſecond is poſſeſs'd by the Budians; abounding in Trees of all ſorts, and ending in a Deſart of ſeven Days Journey: Next to which, and a little deflecting to the Eaſtward, the Tyſſagetes inhabit; who are a ſeparate People, very numerous, and living upon the Veniſon they take. The Iyrcians are contiguous to theſe; and poſſeſſing another Part of the Country, ſubſiſt alſo by hunting, in this Manner. They climb the Trees (which abound in all Places) and wait for the Game, attended by a Dog, and a Horſe taught to lye down upon his Belly to prevent Diſcovery. When the Hunter ſees the Beaſt from the Tree, he lets fly an Arrow, mounts his Horſe, and purſues the Chace with his Dog. The next Region to the Eaſtward, is inhabited by Scythians, who ſeparating from the Royal Scythians, ſettled themſelves there. Thus far *Scythia* is a plain Country, and of a deep Soil: But the reſt is rocky and uneven. After a long and difficult Paſſage from hence, arriving at the Foot of very high Mountains, Men diſcover a certain People, who naturally, both Men and Women, are bald from their Infancy. They have ſhort retorted Noſes, and great Chins; ſpeak a peculiar Language; wear the Scythian Habit; and feed upon the Fruit of a Tree which they call Ponticon, equal to the Fig-tree in Bigneſs, and bearing Fruit with a Kernel of the Shape of a Bean.

When

When this Fruit is ripe, they put it into a Preſs, and ſqueeze out a thick and black Liquor, call'd Aſchy, which they ſuck, and drink mingled with Milk; making Cakes of the Sediment, to ſerve inſtead of other Food: For they have few Cattle in theſe Parts, becauſe they are not induſtrious. They ſleep in the Winter under Trees, which are cover'd with a ſtrong white Cloth; in the Summer without any other Covering than the Tree. No Man offers Violence to this People; for they are accounted ſacred, and have no warlike Weapon among them. They determine the Differences that ariſe among their Neighbours; and whoever flies thither for Refuge, is permitted to live unmoleſted. This bald People goes by the Name of Argippæans. Their Country has a wide Proſpect of all the Regions before mention'd, and one may, without Difficulty, be inform'd concerning them; becauſe not only ſome of the Scythians, but the Grecians, inhabiting the Ports of the *Boryſthenes* and of *Pontus*, frequent theſe Parts. The Scythians arrive in this Country, thro' ſeven different Languages, and by the help of ſeven ſorts of Interpreters. Thus far therefore things are known: But no Man can ſpeak with certainty of thoſe Regions that are ſituate beyond theſe bald Men, for high and inacceſſible Mountains render the Way impracticable. Yet they pretend that thoſe Mountains are inhabited by Men who have Feet like Goats, which is to me incredible: And that beyond thoſe Hills another People is found, who ſleep continually the Space of ſix Months; which I can leſs admit for true than the former. We certainly know

that the Iſſedonians inhabit to the Eaſtward of this bald Nation. But whatever lies to the Northward, either of the Argippæans or Iſſedonians, is utterly unknown, except only from what they are pleaſed to tell us.

THE Iſſedonians are ſaid to obſerve theſe Cuſtoms. When a Man's Father dies, all his Relations bring him Sheep; which, when they have ſacrific'd, and divided into Pieces, they likewiſe cut the Body of his dead Parent into like Portions, and having mingled all this Fleſh together, ſit down to feaſt. Then taking off the Hair, and cleanſing the Head, they gild the Skull, and annually celebrate magnificent Sacrifices to this Relick. Every Son performs theſe Funeral-Rites to his Father, as a Grecian ſolemnizes the Day of his Nativity. They add farther, that this Nation is likewiſe accounted juſt, and that the Women are not inferior in Fortitude to the Men. Theſe Countries are not unknown. But the Iſſedonians affirm, that the Regions beyond them, are poſſeſs'd by Men who have only one Eye, and by Griffins that guard the Gold. The Scythians repeat theſe things from the Iſſedonians, and we have them from the Scythians, who give the Name of Arimaſpians to the People above-mention'd, becauſe *Arima*, in the Scythian Language, ſignifies *One*, and *Spou* an *Eye*. All this Country is ſo infeſted with Cold during the Winter, and Froſts ſo exceſſive for eight Months in the Year, that if a Man pour Water on the Earth, he ſhall not make Dirt, unleſs he ſtand by a Fire. Even the Sea freezes; together with the whole *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, in ſuch a Manner, that the Scythians who live within the In-

trenchment, lead their Armies, and drive their Chariots over the Ice as far as *India*. Eight Months their Winter continues; and the other four are more than ordinarily Cold; the Climate differing from all others in this particular, that little or no Rain falls in the proper Seaſon, and that the Summer is inceſſantly wet. Thunder is frequent in Summer; but ſeldom heard at thoſe Times when 'tis moſt common in other Parts. If any happen in Winter, 'tis taken for a Prodigy; and an Earthquake either in Summer or Winter, is no leſs aſtoniſhing. Their Horſes are not affected by the long continued Cold; but their Mules and Aſſes are unable to reſiſt the Beginnings of the Winter: Whereas in other Places, Horſes are ruin'd by that Cold, which Mules and Aſſes eaſily bear. Theſe Winters ſeem to me to be the Cauſe, why their Cows and Oxen have no Horns; and the following Verſe of *Homer* in his *Odyſſes* confirms my Opinion;

And Libya, *where the Lambs have early Horns.*

Rightly intimating, that the Horns of Cattle ſhoot ſpeedily in hot Countries; for in thoſe which are violently cold, they either cannot ſhoot early, or never grow to any Bigneſs. Theſe are the Effects of Cold in *Scythia*: And becauſe I always propos'd to myſelf to make ſuch Inquiries, I muſt not omit to mention my Surprize, that no Mules are ingender'd in all the Territories of *Elis*, tho' the Climate be no Way diſtemper'd with Cold, nor any viſible Cauſe of this Defect appear. The Eleans pretend they are under the Force of a Charm in this particular; and therefore at the Times of Breeding, they

lead their Mares to ſome of the Parts adjacent; where they cauſe them to be cover'd by He-Aſſes, and after they have conceiv'd, bring them Home again. Touching the Feathers, with which the Scythians ſay the Air is ſo fill'd that Men can neither ſee nor paſs farther upon the Continent, my Opinion is, that perpetual Snows fall in thoſe Parts, tho' probably in leſs Quantity during the Summer than in Winter: And whoever has obſerv'd great Abundance of Snow falling, will eaſily comprehend what I ſay; for the Snow is not unlike to Feathers. On this Account therefore, as I conjecture, the Regions ſituate to the Northward of that Continent, are uninhabited; and the Scythians with other adjoyning People, imagine the Snow to be Feathers. But I have inſiſted long enough on theſe Reports.

CONCERNING the Hyperboreans, nothing is ſaid either by the Scythians or any other Nation that inhabit thoſe Parts, except the Iſſedonians; and as I think they ſay little to the Purpoſe, ſo I am of Opinion the Scythians could inform us no better than they have done of the People with one Eye: *Heſiod* indeed mentions the Hyperboreans, and *Homer* ſpeaks of them in his *Epigones*, if we may believe him to have been the Author of thoſe Verſes. But the Delians ſay much more about the Hyperboreans; affirming that their ſacred things were tranſmitted to *Scythia* wrapp'd in a Bundle of Wheat-Straw, and from the Scythians gradually advanc'd thro' the bordering Nations; 'till they penetrated very far Weſtward, and were receiv'd in *Adria*: That from hence they travell'd towards the

the South, and that the Dodonæans were the firſt of all the Grecians who admitted them: That by this Way they deſcended to the Gulph of *Melis*; paſs'd into *Eubœa*, and from thence thro' various Cities to *Caryſtus*: That they were not introduc'd among the Andrians; but that the Caryſtians tranſported them to *Tenus*, and the Tenians to *Delos*: In this Manner the Delians ſay they receiv'd theſe Rites. They add, that the Hyperboreans had firſt ſent two Virgins to carry theſe ſacred things abroad, and call them by the Names of *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*: That for their Security they appointed five Citizens to accompany them, whoſe Memory is to this Day in great Veneration among the Delians, and their Perſons known by the Title of *Peripherees*: But the Hyperboreans finding that none of thoſe they had charged with theſe Orders, return'd Home, were greatly diſpleas'd; and tying up their holy Things in a Bundle of Wheat-Straw, diſpatch'd certain Perſons to carry them into the next adjacent Countries, and to exhort the Inhabitants to ſend them forward to other Nations. And thus the Delians ſay theſe ſacred Rites were introduc'd, thro' many other Parts, into their Iſland. Something like theſe Myſteries, I have obſerv'd among the Thracian and Pæonian Women, when they ſacrifice to *Diana the Royal*. For they never celebrate thoſe Ceremonies without uſing the Straw of Wheat, as I myſelf have ſeen. Theſe Hyperborean Virgins died in *Delos*, and their Memory is honour'd by the Delian Maids and young Men in this Manner. The Maids cut off a Lock of their Hair before Marriage; which they wind about a Diſtaff, and dedicate

dedicate upon the Sepulchre of the Virgins, built within the Temple of *Diana* on the left Hand of the Entrance, and cover'd by an Olive-tree. The young Men twiſt their Hair about a Tuft of Graſs, and conſecrate it on the ſame Monument: Such Veneration is paid to theſe Virgins by the Inhabitants of *Delos*. They likewiſe ſay, that *Argis* and *Opis* two other Hyperborean Virgins landed at *Delos* in the ſame Age, before *Hyperoche* and *Laodice:* That theſe laſt came only to make an Acknowledgment to *Lucina* for a ſpeedy Delivery; but that *Argis* and *Opis* arriv'd with the Gods, and were honour'd by the Delians with great Solemnities; for the Women aſſembling together ſing a Hymn to their Praiſe compos'd by *Olen* the Lycian, which the Ionians and Iſlanders afterwards learnt to perform in the ſame Manner: That the Names of *Argis* and *Opis* are frequently repeated in the Hymn, and that this Lycian was the Author of other ancient Compoſitions which are ſung in *Delos:* That the Aſhes of the Sacrifices burnt on the Altar are thrown upon their Sepulchre, which ſtands behind the Temple of *Diana*, facing to the Eaſt, and adjoyning to the Refectory of the Ceians. And this I think ſufficient to ſay concerning the Hyperboreans. For I ſhall not mention the Fable of *Abaris*, who, they ſay, was of that Country, and, without eating, carried an Arrow thro' all the Parts of the World. Yet if there be any Hyperboreans, lying ſo far to the Northward, we may as well preſume there are other Hyperauſtralian People inhabiting to the Southward. And here I cannot forbear Laughter, when I conſider how many Men have deſcrib'd the Circumference of the Earth

Earth without any kind of Judgment; pretending that the Ocean ſurrounds the whole; that the Earth is round as a Ball; and that *Europe* is equal in Extent to *Aſia*. I ſhall therefore briefly diſcover the Dimenſions of each Part, and give a juſt Deſcription of their Form. The Countries inhabited by the Perſians, and extending Southward, are bounded by the *Red Sea*; to the Northward they have the Medes; then the Sapirians, and beyond theſe the Colchians, whoſe Country reaches to the North Sea, into which the River *Phaſis* runs. Theſe four Nations poſſeſs whatever lies between thoſe Seas. To the Weſtward, two Tracts of Land lye extended along the Shore, which I ſhall deſcribe. One of theſe, beginning at the River *Phaſis*, deſcends Northward to the Sea by the Way of *Pontus* and the *Helleſpont*, down to the Trojan *Sigæum*; and is extended to the Southward from the Gulph of *Mariandynia*, which borders upon *Phœnicia*, to the Promontory of *Triopis*. This Region is inhabited by thirty ſeveral Nations. The other begins among the Perſians and reaches to the *Red Sea*; comprehending likewiſe *Aſſyria*, and terminating in the Gulph of *Arabia*: Which could not have been, if *Darius* had not introduc'd the *Nile* by Canals into that Sea. The Countries that lye between the Perſians and Phœnicians are ſpacious and of great Extent. From *Phœnicia* the ſame Coaſt ſtretches along the Sea by the *Palæſtine Syria* and *Ægypt*; terminates there, and contains only three Nations. Theſe Regions are ſituate in *Aſia*, from *Perſia* to the Weſtward; and thoſe that lye beyond the Perſians, Medes, Sapirians and Colchians, are bounded on the Eaſt by

by the *Red Sea* and on the North by the *Caſpian*, and the River *Araxes*, which flows towards the Riſing Sun. All *Aſia* is inhabited even to *India:* But beyond *India* whatever lies to the Eaſtward, is Deſart, or utterly unknown. Such, and ſo great is *Aſia*. *Libya* is in another Region, and begins where *Ægypt* terminates. In this Part the Country is narrow; and no more than a hundred thouſand Rod, or one thouſand Stades, are computed from the *Ægyptian* to the *Red Sea*. Beyond theſe Streights, the Coaſt opens, and becoming vaſtly ſpacious is call'd *Libya*. I admire therefore as thoſe who have made the Diviſion and Separation of *Europe*, *Libya*, and *Aſia*; becauſe the Diſproportion is great. For tho' *Europe* exceed the other in Length; yet in Breadth it is not comparable to either. *Libya* is ſurrounded by the Sea, except in that Part which borders upon *Aſia:* And this Diſcovery was firſt made by *Necus* King of *Ægypt*; who after he had deſiſted from opening the Channel, that conveys the Waters of the *Nile* into the Arabian Gulph, furniſh'd certain Phœnicians with Ships, in order to paſs by the Columns of *Hercules* into the Northern Sea, and then to return to *Ægypt*. Theſe Men ſet ſail from the *Red Sea*, and entring into the Southern Sea, went aſhore in *Libya* about the Time of the Autumnal Equinox, and having ſow'd the Land in what Part ſoever they arriv'd, waited the Time of Harveſt, and when they had cut the Corn, put to Sea again. After they had ſpent two Years in their Voyage, they paſs'd by the Columns of *Hercules* in the third; and returning to *Ægypt*, related a thing which I cannot believe, tho' perhaps

haps others may; affirming, that as they ſail'd round the Coaſt of *Libya*, they had the Sun on their right Hand. And in this Manner *Libya* was firſt diſcover'd. Since that Time, the Carthaginians ſay, that *Sataſpes* the Son of *Teaſpes* one of the Achæmenian Blood, was ſent with Orders to ſail round *Libya*, and did not finiſh his Enterprize: But tir'd with the Length of the Voyage, and the inhoſpitable Deſarts, return'd Home without accompliſhing this Labour; which was impos'd upon him by his Mother, for forcing a Virgin, who was Daughter to *Zopyrus* the Son of *Megabyſus*. *Xerxes* had condemn'd him to be impal'd for this Crime: But his Mother, who was Siſter to *Darius*, ſav'd him from that Death, by aſſuring the King ſhe would inflict a greater Puniſhment upon her Son, than he had appointed; by enjoyning him to ſurround the Coaſt of *Libya*, till he ſhould arrive in the Gulph of *Arabia*. *Xerxes* accepted her Propoſition, and *Sataſpes* departed into *Ægypt*: Where, having furniſh'd himſelf with Ships and Men, he ſet ſail; and paſſing by the Pillars of *Hercules*, doubled the Libyan Cape of *Sylois*, and ſteer'd to the Southward. But after he had been many Months at Sea, and found many more would be neceſſary to finiſh his Voyage, he diſcontinued his Courſe, and return'd to *Ægypt*. From thence he went to *Xerxes*, and told him he had ſail'd very far, and ſeen a Nation of little Men cloath'd in the Phœnician Habit, who upon the Approach of his Ships left their Cities, and fled to the Mountains; that he had indeed taken ſome Proviſions in their Country; but had not done them any other Injury. Then, to excuſe himſelf

himſelf for not performing his Voyage, he alledg'd that his Ships became immoveable, and hindred him from proceeding farther. But *Xerxes* not believing what he ſaid, put the former Sentence in Execution, and commanded him to be impal'd, becauſe he had not accompliſh'd the Enterprize impoſed on him: Upon which the Eunuch of *Sataſpes* hearing of his Maſter's Death, ran away with great Riches to *Samos*; where a certain Samian, whoſe Name I forbear to mention, defrauded him of all.

MUCH of *Aſia* was diſcover'd in the Reign of *Darius*. For that King being deſirous to know in what Part the *Indus*, which is the ſecond River that produces Crocodiles, runs into the Sea, ſent *Scylax* of *Caryanda* with others of approv'd Fidelity to make the Diſcovery. Accordingly they departed in divers Ships from *Caſpatyrus* and the Territories of *Pactya*; ſail'd down the River Eaſtward to the Sea, and then altering their Courſe towards the Weſt, arriv'd in the thirtieth Month at that Place where the King of *Ægypt* had cauſed the Phœnicians I mention'd before to embark, in order to ſurround the Coaſt of *Libya*. After this Voyage, *Darius* ſubdued the Indians, and became Maſter of that Sea. By which Means, without accounting thoſe Regions that are ſituate in the Eaſtern Parts, the reſt of *Aſia* is known to be equal in Extent to *Libya*. But *Europe* has not been fully diſcovered by any Man; and we have no Account whether it be bounded on the North and Eaſt ſides by the Sea, or not: Only we know that in Length 'tis not unequal to the other Parts. And I cannot comprehend with what Reaſon Men have impos'd three

three diſtinct Names upon the Earth, which is but one; and thoſe properly the Names of Women; ſome limiting this arbitrary Diviſion by the Ægyptian *Nile*, and the Colchian *Phaſis*; and others by the River of *Tanais*, the Lake *Mæotis*, and the Cimmerian *Boſphorus*. Nor could I ever learn by what Perſons theſe Names were impos'd, and from what Original they were deriv'd. The moſt prevailing Opinion among the Grecians is, that *Libya* was ſo call'd from a Woman of that Name and Country; and *Aſia* from the Wife of *Prometheus*. But the Lydians put in a Claim to the laſt, and ſay that *Aſia* had its Name from *Aſius* the Son of *Cotys*, and Grandſon to *Maneus*, and not from *Aſia* the Wife of *Prometheus*; alledging for a Proof of their Aſſertion, that they have a Tribe in *Sardis* which goes under the Name of the Aſian Tribe. In Concluſion, no Man knows whether *Europe* be ſurrounded by the Sea; nor from whence that Name was deriv'd. Neither are we more certain who was the firſt Impoſer; unleſs we will ſay that the Tyrian *Europa* gave her Name to that Region, which, like the reſt, before her Time had none. Beſides, we are ſure ſhe was of *Aſia*, and never came into thoſe Parts which are now call'd *Europe* by the Grecians; but arriv'd in *Crete* from *Phœnicia*, and from thence ſail'd to *Libya*. Thus having reported the common Opinions, I ſhall ſay no more concerning theſe things.

ALL the Nations that border on the *Euxin Sea*, are extremely ignorant, except the Scythians, againſt whom *Darius* was preparing to make War: And we have nothing to ſay touching the Wiſdom of any of thoſe People; nor ever heard of

of any learned Man among them, *Anacharſis* and other Scythians only excepted. But in *Scythia* one thing is obſerv'd more prudently contriv'd than in any other Nation we know. For whoever enters their Country, can never make his Eſcape; neither are the Scythians ever to be found, unleſs they are willing; becauſe they have no Cities, nor inclos'd Places; but every Man has a moveable Houſe; and fights on Horſeback, arm'd with a Bow and Arrows. They have not their Subſiſtence from the Plow, but from the Cattle, and uſe Carts inſtead of Houſes. If theſe things were not ſo, they would be an eaſy Conqueſt, and unable to make Reſiſtance. The Situation of their Country, which is Level, and the Frequency of their Rivers, have greatly contributed to theſe Advantages. For the Soil is rich and well water'd; and the Rivers are almoſt as numerous as the Canals of *Ægypt*. Of theſe the moſt celebrated, and moſt navigable from the Sea, are, the *Iſter*, the *Tyres*, the *Hypanis*, the *Boryſthenes*, the *Panticapes*, the *Hypacyris*, the *Gerrhus* and the *Tanais*. The *Iſter* is the greateſt of all Rivers we know, flowing with an equal Stream both in Summer and Winter, and deſcends from the Weſtward into *Scythia*. This River becomes ſo great by the Addition of many other Waters. In the firſt Place, five ſeveral Rivers paſſing thro' *Scythia*, contribute to ſwell its Stream. The firſt of theſe is by the Scythians call'd *Porata*, and by the Grecians *Pyreton*. The other four go under the Names of *Tiarantus*, *Ararus*, *Naparis*, and *Ordiſſus*. The *Porata* is a conſiderable River; and running towards the Eaſt, flows into the *Iſter*. The *Tiarantus* is leſs,

and deflects rather to the Weſtward: The *Ararus*, *Naparis*, and *Ordiſſus*, paſs between both, and fall likewiſe into the ſame River. All theſe are properly Scythian Rivers; but the *Maris* deſcends from the Agathyrſians, and mixes with the ſame Stream. The *Atlas*, the *Auras*, and the *Tibeſis*, three great Rivers riſing in the Mountains of *Hæmus*, and deſcending Northward; beſides the *Athres*, *Noes*, and *Atarnes*, which paſs thro' *Thrace* and the *Thracian* Crobyzians; and the River *Cius*, beginning in the Pæonian and Rhodopean Hills, and flowing thro' the midſt of *Hæmus*: All theſe likewiſe diſcharge their Waters into the *Iſter*. In like Manner the *Angrus*, a River of *Illyria*, flowing towards the North, and croſſing the Plains of *Traballis*, enters into the *Brongus*; and both theſe, conſiderable in themſelves, are receiv'd together by the River *Iſter*. And laſtly, from the Regions that are ſituate above the Umbricians, two other Rivers, which go by the Names of *Carpis* and *Alpis*, deſcending to the Northward, fall into the ſame Stream. The *Iſter* riſes in the Country of the Celtes, who, with the Cynetes, inhabit the remoteſt Parts of *Europe* to the Weſtward, and traverſing all the European Regions, enters obliquely into the Borders of *Scythia*. And thus, by the Addition of the Waters I have mention'd, with the Contributions of divers other Streams, the *Iſter* becomes the greateſt of all Rivers. But if we compare the Waters of the *Nile*, with thoſe that properly belong to the *Iſter*, we ſhall find the former much ſuperior in Quantity; becauſe no River or Fountain enters into the *Nile*, nor contributes any thing to its Increaſe. The *Iſter* is

of equal Height in Summer and in Winter, for this Reaſon, as I conjecture. The Rains of Winter, tho' moderate, raiſe the *Iſter* to its full Height, or rather ſomewhat higher than ordinary; and in Summer the Snows, which never fail to cover the Country during the Winter-Seaſon, melting and running down from all Parts, together with copious and frequent Rains, keep the River full: And, tho' more Water falls into the *Iſter* in Summer than in Winter, yet the Sun in compenſation exhaling a great Part of that Moiſture, renders the Stream, in a Manner, equal in both Seaſons. The firſt River then of *Scythia* is the *Iſter*. The ſecond is the *Tyres*, which comes from the North, iſſuing out of a vaſt Lake, and ſeparates *Scythia* from *Nebris*. At the Mouth of this River certain Grecians inhabit, who, for that Reaſon, are call'd Tyrites. The third is the *Hypanis*, deſcending likewiſe from a great Lake in *Scythia*, which is deſervedly nam'd the Mother of that River. Great Numbers of wild Horſes, white of Colour, are ſeen grazing about the Borders of this Lake. The Chanel of the *Hypanis* is narrow, and the Water ſweet, during the Navigation of five Days; but then becomes horribly bitter, and ſo continues for four Days Voyage down to the Sea. This Effect is caus'd by the Bitterneſs of a Spring; ſmall indeed, yet ſo very bitter, as to infect the *Hypanis*; which nevertheleſs is equal to moſt other Rivers in Bigneſs. This Spring riſes in the Borders of the Scythian Huſbandmen and Alazons, and from that Part of the Country is call'd by the Name of *Exampæus*; which, in the Grecian Language, ſignifies,

ſies, *The ſacred Ways*. The *Tyres* and *Hypanis* run near together, along the Territories of the Alazons, and then ſeparating, leave a wide Space between each Chanel. The *Boryſthenes*, which is the fourth and greateſt River of *Scythia*, after the *Iſter*, ſurpaſſes, in my Opinion, not only the reſt of the Scythian Rivers, but all others, except the Ægyptian *Nile*; to which none may juſtly be compar'd. This noble River renders the adjoyning Lands beautiful, and abounding in Paſture for the Cattle; affords great Variety of exquiſite Fiſh, and Water of a moſt pleaſant Taſte. The Streams are pure and limpid, tho' paſſing thro' a rich Soil; and the bordering Plains produce excellent Corn, with Plenty of Graſs in the Places which are left uncultivated. At the Mouth of this River abundance of Salt is inceſſantly made by the Hand of Nature; and a ſort of Whale is taken, of great Bigneſs, and without any ſpinous Bones; which the Scythians uſe to ſalt, and call by the Name of Antacæus. So much of the *Boryſthenes* is known, as may be navigated in a Voyage of forty Days, from the North to the Country of *Gerrhus:* But no Man can affirm any thing certain concerning the remoter Parts, thro' which this River paſſes: Probably they are uninhabited Deſarts, down to the Regions of the Scythian Huſbandmen, that lie extended along the River during a Sail of ten Days. The Head of the *Boryſthenes*, as well as that of the *Nile*, is unknown to me, and, I think, to all other Grecians. This River, and the *Hypanis*, joyn at a little Diſtance from the Sea, and diſcharge their Waters together. The Space that lies between the two Streams, is call'd the Pro-

montory of *Hyppoleon*, in which a Temple dedicated to *Ceres* is built, and beyond that Temple the Boryſthenians inhabit the Country to the River *Hypanis*. But we have ſaid enough of theſe. The fifth River is the *Panticapes*, which alſo deſcends from the North, and out of a Lake; and between this River and the *Boryſthenes*, the Country is inhabited by Scythian Husbandmen. The *Panticapes* enters into *Hylæa*, and paſſing quite through that Region, mixes with the *Boryſthenes*. The *Hypacaris* is the ſixth River; which beginning in a Lake, traverſes the Country of the Scythian Herdſmen; and then cloſing the Borders of *Hylæa* on the right, together with that Place, which is call'd the *Race of Achilles*, rolls into the Sea at the City of *Carcinitis*. The ſeventh is the *Gerrhus*; which, by a Country of the ſame Name, is ſeparated from the *Boryſthenes*, in thoſe Parts where this River begins to be known; dividing the Territories of the Herdſmen from thoſe of the Royal Scythians, and then falling into the *Hypacaris*. The eighth River is the *Tanais*, originally deſcending from a great Lake, and entering into another yet greater, call'd *Mæotis*, which ſeparates the Royal Scythians and the Sarmatians. The River *Hygris* runs into the *Tanais*; and all theſe celebrated Rivers ſerve for the Uſe and Defence of *Scythia*. The Graſs that grows in this Country is the moſt bitter of any we have ſeen, as Experience ſhews at the opening of the Cattle. Such are the moſt conſiderable Advantages of the Scythians. Their Cuſtoms and religious Ceremonies are eſtabliſh'd in this Manner. They worſhip no other Gods than theſe. In the firſt Place *Veſta*, who

who is their principal Deity: Then *Jupiter*; and the Earth, which is accounted his Wife: After them *Apollo*; *Venus*, *Urania*; *Hercules*, and *Mars*. All theſe are generally acknowledg'd: But thoſe who go under the Name of Royal Scythians, ſacrifice likewiſe to *Neptune*. *Veſta*, in the Scythian Language is call'd *Tabiti*: *Jupiter* is, in my Opinion, rightly nam'd *Papæus*: The Earth *Apia*: *Apollo Oetoſyrus*: The Celeſtial *Venus Artimpaſa*, and *Neptune Thamimaſades*. They erect no Images, Altars, or Temples, to any other God, except *Mars* alone. Their Sacrifices are perform'd in all Temples alike, without Variation, and in this Manner. The Animal is led out, and after they have tied his Fore-feet together, he who ſacrifices ſtanding behind him, firſt takes off the Band, then ſtrikes the Victim, and as he falls, invokes the God they worſhip. This done, he throws a Halter about his Neck, and ſtraining the Cord with a Stick, ſtrangles him; without kindling any Fire, or offering either firſt Fruits or Libations. When he hath perform'd this Office, and taken off the Skin from the Body, he immediately applies himſelf to dreſs the Fleſh. But becauſe the Country is very ill furniſh'd with Wood, the Scythians have found out this Contrivance. When they have flay'd the Victim, they ſtrip the Bones, and put the Fleſh into Pots, made in *Scythia*, and reſembling thoſe of *Lesbos* in Form, though not altogether ſo large. Then making a Fire of the Bones, they boil the Fleſh of the Animal. If they have no Pot at Hand, they throw all the Fleſh into the Paunch, with a competent Quantity of Water, and burn the Bones underneath. So this Fire being abun-

dantly ſufficient for the Purpoſe, and the Paunch eaſily containing all the Meat ſeparated from the Bones, the Ox, and all other Cattle us'd in their Sacrifices, furniſh all things neceſſary to boil themſelves. When the Fleſh is ſufficiently prepar'd, he that ſacrifices, in the firſt Place, makes an Offering of Part of the Meat and Inteſtines, which he throws out before him. They make uſe of divers ſorts of Cattle in theſe Sacrifices, but chiefly of Horſes: And this is the Form of their Oblations to all the Gods they worſhip, except only *Mars*; who, according to an ancient Cuſtom, has an Altar in every Diſtrict, built in the following manner. A great Quantity of ſmall Wood, tied up in Bundles, is brought together, and plac'd upon three Stades of Land, covering the whole Ground both in Length and Breadth; but not of a proportionable Height. The Top is quadrangular; three of the Sides perpendicular, and the fourth a gradual Declivity, and eaſy Acceſs. One hundred and fifty Loads of Faggots are annually brought to this Place; becauſe many are putrified by the Winter. On each of theſe Heaps an old Scymeter of Iron is erected, which they call the Image of *Mars*, and honour with yearly Sacrifices of Horſes and other Cattle, in greater Abundance than they offer to the reſt of their Gods. They likewiſe ſacrifice to this Deity every hundredth Man of the Priſoners they take from their Enemies: But in a different Manner from the Offerings they make of other Animals. For after they have pour'd a Libation of Wine on the Head of the Priſoner, they cut his Throat over a Bowl, and then aſcending the Heap of Faggots, waſh the Sword

with his Blood. This they do at the Top of the Altar: And below, after they have kill'd the Man on the ſacred Place, they cut off his right Arm by the Shoulder; which they throw into the Air, and leave on the Ground where it falls. Thus the Body lies in one Part, and the Arm in another. When they have perform'd theſe and other Ceremonies, they depart. And ſuch are the Sacrifices inſtituted by the Scythians. They make no Uſe of Swine, nor will ſuffer any to be kept in their Country.

THE Military Affairs of *Scythia* are order'd in this Manner. Every Scythian drinks the Blood of the firſt Priſoner he takes, and preſents the King with the Heads of the Enemies he has kill'd in Fight. For if he brings a Head, he is intituled to a Share of the Booty, otherwiſe not. They flay theſe Heads by cutting a Circle round the Neck cloſe under the Ears; and ſtripping off the Skin, as they would do that of an Ox: Then they ſoften the Skin with their Hands; and theſe Skins thus prepar'd ſerve inſtead of Napkins, hanging on the Bridles of their Horſes when they ride. He who has the greater Number of theſe, thinks beſt of himſelf, and is accounted the moſt valiant Man. Many Scythians clothe themſelves with the Skins of Men ſew'd together, as others with the Skins of Beaſts; and frequently ſtripping the right Hands of the Enemies they kave kill'd, extend thoſe Skins with their Nails, and uſe them for Coverings to their Quivers. For the Skin of a Man is thick, and of a brighter white, than that of any other Animal. Many take off the Skins of Men intire, and carry them about on Horſeback ſtretch'd out

upon a Board. Theſe Uſages are receiv'd among the Scythians. Yet they are not accuſtom'd to uſe all Heads alike; for thoſe of their greateſt Enemies are treated in the following Manner. They cut off the whole Face from the Eye-brows downwards, and having cleans'd the reſt, if they are poor, they content themſelves to cover the Skull with Leather: But the Rich, beſides this Covering of Leather, guild the inſide with Gold; and theſe ſerve inſtead of Cups for their Drink. They do the ſame to their familiar Friends; if upon any diſpute they conquer them in the Preſence of the King. When they entertain any Stranger of Conſideration, they ſhew him theſe Heads, and relating the injurious Uſage they receiv'd from their Friends, together with the Victory they obtain'd, value themſelves much upon theſe Actions. Every Provincial Governour provides a Veſſel of Wine once a Year in his own Province, to treat all thoſe Scythians who have kill'd Enemies: Whilſt thoſe who have not perform'd any ſuch Exploit, ſit at a Diſtance with ſhame, and are not permitted to taſte the Liquor; which is accounted a great Diſgrace: But they who have kill'd many Men, drink out of two Cups, which they bring with them. The Scythians abound in Prophets, who divine by Rods of Willow in the following Manner. They collect great Bundles of theſe Twigs; which they lay down, and open on the Ground. Then ſeparating the whole Parcel one from the other, they begin to utter their Predictions, and whilſt they are yet ſpeaking, gather up the Rods again, and tye them in Faggots as before. This Way of Divination is originally

nally Scythian; but the Enarians and Androgynes pretend that *Venus* gave them the Power of predicting by the Bark of a Lime-tree, which they ſplit in three Places; and tearing the Parts aſunder with their Fingers, pronounce the Oracle. When the King of *Scythia* is ſick, he ſends for three of the moſt famous of theſe Prophets; and they generally tell him, that ſome Scythian, whom they name, has perjur'd himſelf, in ſwearing falſly by the Royal Throne. For that is the Oath which the Scythians ſwear, when they would affirm a thing with the greateſt Solemnity. The Perſon accus'd is preſently ſeiz'd, and brought into the King's Preſence; where the Prophets charge him with Perjury, and pretend to have diſcover'd by their Art, that he has ſworn falſly by the Throne, and ſo brought this Diſtemper upon the King. If he deny the Fact, and complain of the Injury, the King ſends for a double Number of Prophets: And in Caſe they confirm the former Judgment after they have perform'd the uſual Ceremonies, the Man immediately loſes his Head, and the firſt three divide his Riches among themſelves. But if they judge him innocent, more and more of theſe Diviners are call'd; and if he is at laſt acquitted by a Plurality of Voices, thoſe who firſt accus'd him are condemn'd to dye; and the Sentence is executed in this Manner. When they have laid a great Quantity of ſmall Wood upon a cover'd Cart drawn by Oxen, they tye the Prophets Hand and Foot; ſtop their Mouths, and place them cloſe together on the midſt of the Faggots: Then ſetting fire to the Pile, and terrifying the Oxen with loud Exclamations, they

they withdraw. Many of theſe Beaſts are conſum'd with the Diviners, and many eſcape half burnt, by running away after the Axle-tree falls aſunder. In this Manner, and ſometimes for other Reaſons, they burn theſe Men, and call them falſe Prophets. The King never ſpares the Sons of thoſe he puts to Death; but deſtroying all the Males, ſaves only the Female Children.

THE Scythians in their Alliances and Contracts uſe the following Ceremonies with all Men. They pour Wine into a large Earthen Veſſel, and mingle it with Blood taken from thoſe who are to ſwear, by making a ſlight Wound in their Fleſh with a Knife or Sword. When they have done this, they dip a Scymeter, ſome Arrows, a Bill, and a Javelin in the Veſſel; and after many Imprecations, the Perſons appointed to conclude the Agreement, with the moſt conſiderable Men there Preſent, drink off the Liquor. The Sepulchres of the Kings are in the Country of the Gerrhians, where the *Boryſthenes* is firſt known to be navigable. When their King dies, they dig a great Hole in the Ground, of a quadrangular Form, and having receiv'd the Body cover'd with Wax, they open and cleanſe the Belly, filling the Space with bruis'd Cypreſs, Incenſe, Seeds of Parſley, and Anis: And after they have ſow'd up the Belly again, they carry the Body in a Chariot to another Province; where, thoſe who receive it imitate the Royal Scythians in the following Cuſtom. They cut off Part of one Ear; ſhave their Heads; wound themſelves on the Arms, Forehead, and Noſe; and pierce the left Hand with an Arrow. Having done thus, they accompany

company the Chariot to another Diſtrict; and this Manner is obſerv'd in every Province; till having carried the dead Body of the King thro' all his Dominions, they bury him in the Country of the Gerrhians, who inhabit the remoteſt Parts of the Kingdom. Here they lay him in the Sepulchre, upon a Bed encompaſs'd on all ſides with Spears; which they cover with Timber, and ſpread a Canopy over the whole Monument. In the Spaces that remain vacant, they place one of the King's Concubines ſtrangled; with a Cupbearer; a Cook; a Groom; a Waiter; a Meſſenger; certain Horſes; and ſome of all things neceſſary. To theſe they add Cups of Gold; becauſe Silver and Braſs are not uſed among them. This done, they throw up the Earth with great Diligence, and endeavour to raiſe the Mound as high as poſſibly they can. After a Year is expir'd, they perform theſe things farther. They chuſe ſuch Servants as they judge moſt uſeful, out of the King's Houſhold; which conſiſts wholly of native Scythians. For the King takes thoſe that pleaſe him beſt, and is never ſerv'd by Men bought with Money. Theſe Officers being fifty in Number, they ſtrangle; and with them fifty beautiful Horſes; and after they have emptied and cleans'd their Bellies, they fill them with Straw, and ſow them up again. Then they lay two Planks of a ſemicircular Form upon four Pieces of Timber, plac'd at a convenient Diſtance, with the half Circle upwards; and when they have erected a ſufficient Number of theſe Machines, they ſet the Horſes upon them, ſpitted with a ſtrong Pole quite thro' the Body to the Neck: And thus one Semicircle

ſupports

ſupports the Shoulders of the Horſe, the other his Flank, and his Legs are ſuſpended in the Air. After this they bridle the Horſes, and hanging the Reins at full Length upon Poſts erected to that End, mount one of the fifty young Men they have ſtrangled, upon each Horſe, and fix him in the Seat, by driving a ſtraight Stick upwards from the End of the back Bone to his Head, and faſtening the loweſt Part of that Stick in an Aperture of the Beam that ſpits the Horſes. Then placing theſe Horſemen quite round the Monument, they all depart. And this is the Manner of the King's Funeral. But when any other Scythian dies, his neareſt Relations carry him about in a Chariot among his Friends; who receive and entertain the whole Company, in their Turn, ſetting the ſame things before the dead Man as before the reſt. In this Manner all private Men are carried about forty Days, before they are buried: And thoſe who have aſſiſted at theſe Funerals, purify themſelves thus. When they have cleans'd and waſh'd their Heads, they ſet up three Pieces of Timber leaning to each other, and laying a good Number of Woolen-Bags cloſe together, throw burning Stones into a hollow Space left in the midſt of the Wood and Bags. In this Country a ſort of Hemp grows, very like to Flax; only longer and thicker; and much more excellent than ours, whether ſow'd or produc'd by Nature. The Thracians cloath themſelves with Garments made of this Hemp; ſo well reſembling Flax, that a Man muſt have great Experience in thoſe Materials to diſtinguiſh one from the other: And he who had never ſeen this Hemp, would think their

their Cloaths were wrought out of Flax. The Scythians put the Seeds of this Hemp under the Bags, upon the burning Stones; and immediately a more agreeable Vapour is emitted than from the Incenſe burnt in *Greece*. The Company extremely tranſported with the Scent, howl aloud; and this Manner of Purification ſerves inſtead of waſhing: For they never bath their Bodies in Water. But their Wives grinding the Wood of Cypreſs, Cedar, and Incenſe upon a rough Stone, and infuſing the Powder in Water, compound a thick Subſtance, which they ſpread over all the Parts of the Body and Face. This Compoſition is taken off the next Day, and renders the Women ſweet, ſhining, and clean. They ſtudiouſly avoid the Uſe of any other Cuſtoms than their own; not admitting even thoſe of their Scythian Neighbours; and are particularly averſe to thoſe of the Grecians, as the Examples of *Anacharſis*, and afterwards of *Scyles*, ſufficiently demonſtrate. For *Anacharſis*, after he had view'd many Countries, and acquir'd great Wiſdom ſailing thro' the *Helleſpont* in his Return to *Scythia*, and landing at *Cyzicus*, found the Inhabitants of that Place celebrating a Feſtival to the Mother of the Gods with great Solemnity; and made a Vow to the Goddeſs, that if he return'd in Health and Safety to his own Country, he would ſacrifice in the ſame Manner he found practis'd by the Cyzicenians, and introduce the nocturnal Ceremonies. Accordingly when he arriv'd in *Scythia*, he went privately into the Country of *Hylæa*, ſituate near the *Race of Achilles*, and abounding in Trees of all kinds. There he fully perform'd all the Rites of the Goddeſs; holding

a Timbal in his Hand before the Images he had hung in the Trees. But a certain Scythian obſerving what he was doing, diſcover'd the whole Matter to King *Saulius*; who coming to the Place, and ſeeing *Anacharſis* thus employ'd, drew his Bow and kill'd him on the Spot. Yet if any Man queſtion the Scythians concerning *Anacharſis*, they preſently ſay they know nothing of him; becauſe he travell'd into *Greece*, and affected foreign Cuſtoms. Nevertheleſs I have been inform'd by *Timnes* the Guardian of *Spargapythes*, that *Anacharſis* was Uncle to *Indathyrſus* King of *Scythia* Son to *Gnurus* and Grandſon of *Lycus* the Son of *Spargapythes*: And if he was of that Family, he was kill'd by his own Couſin German: For *Indathyrſus* was the Son of *Saulius*, and *Saulius* kill'd *Anacharſis*. But I had a different Account from the Peloponneſians; who ſaid, that *Anacharſis* was ſent abroad by the King of *Scythia*; that he became a Diſciple of the Grecians; and at his Return told the King, that all the Grecians were employ'd in acquiring Knowledge, except the Lacedæmonians, who only ſtudied how to give and receive with Prudence: But this is a Fiction contriv'd in *Greece*; and *Anacharſis* was indeed kill'd in the Manner I have mention'd; becauſe he affected foreign Cuſtoms, and had convers'd with the Grecians. Many Years after this Event, *Scyles* the Son of *Aripithes* King of *Scythia*, met with the like Fate. *Aripithes* was the Father of many other Children: But he had *Scyles* by an Iſtrian, not a Scythian Woman. His Mother inſtructed him in the Grecian Language and Letters; and when, after ſome Time *Aripithes* was kill'd by the Fraud of *Sparga-*

Spargapythes King of the Agathyrſians, *Scyles* took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and married *Opæa* his Father's Wife, a Native of *Scythia*, and Mother of *Oricus*, another Son of *Aripithes*. But tho' *Scyles* was King of the Scythians, he diſlik'd the Cuſtoms of *Scythia*; and much rather inclining to the Grecian Manners, in which he had been educated from his Infancy, he contriv'd this Invention. Leading the Scythian Army to the City of the Boryſthenians, which they ſay is a Colony of the Mileſians, and arriving before the Place, he left his Scythians without the Walls, and entring alone, caus'd the Gates to be immediately ſhut; put off his Scythian Garment; and having cloath'd himſelf in the Grecian Habit, walk'd in Publick without Guards, or other Attendants. And that no Scythian might ſee him dreſs'd in this Manner, he plac'd Sentinels at every Gate; conforming himſelf to the Grecian Cuſtoms in the Worſhip of the Gods, no leſs than in all other things, and after he had ſtaid a Month or more in this Place, he reſum'd the Scythian Habit, and departed. This Practice he frequently repeated; built a Palace in the City and married a Wife, who was a Native of the Place. But the fatal Decree was paſs'd, and his ill Fortune fell upon him on this Occaſion. He was very deſirous to be initiated in the Rites of *Bacchus*; and when all things were prepar'd for the Ceremony of his Initiation, a great Prodigy happen'd. The outward Court of the magnificent Palace, which, I have ſaid, he built in the Capital of the Boryſthenians, was adorn'd quite round with Images of white Marble, repreſenting Sphynxes and Griffins. In this Place the Thunder

Thunder of *Jupiter* fell, and demoliſh'd them all. Yet *Scyles* ſtill perſiſted in his Reſolution, and accompliſh'd his Initiation. Now becauſe the Scythians reproach the Grecians with theſe Bacchanals; and ſay, that to imagine a God driving Men into the moſt violent Tranſports of Madneſs, is not agreeable to right Reaſon; a certain Boryſthenian, whilſt the Ceremonies of Initiation were perform'd, went out, and diſcover'd the Thing to the Scythian Army in theſe Words. "You Scythians, ſaid he, laugh "at us, becauſe we celebrate Bacchanals, and "are poſſeſs'd by the God: But now the ſame "Deity has taken Poſſeſſion of your King. "For he alſo celebrates the Rites of *Bacchus*, "full of a divine Fury: And if you will not "believe me, follow, and I will demonſtrate "the Fact". The principal of the Scythians accompanied him accordingly; and being privately introduc'd by the Boryſthenian into one of the Towers, they perceiv'd *Scyles* with the Chorus performing the Bacchanalian Rites. They ſaw theſe Things with great Grief, and going back to the Camp, acquainted all the Army with what they had ſeen. After ſome Time, when *Scyles* was return'd Home, the Scythians revolted from him, and elected his Brother *Octamaſades*, born of the Daughter of *Tyres*: Which *Scyles* hearing, and underſtanding the Reaſon of their Proceeding, he fled to *Thrace*. *Octamaſades* being inform'd of his Flight, marched with an Army againſt *Thrace*, and arriving on the Banks of the *Iſter*, found the Forces of the Thracians advancing to meet him. But as both Sides were preparing for a Battle, *Sitalces* the Thracian ſent a Herald to *Octamaſades* with

this Meſſage; "Why ſhould we try the For-
"tune of War? Thou art the Son of my
"Siſter, and haſt my Brother with thee. Sur-
"render my Brother to me, and I will deliver
"*Scyles* into thy Hands; and ſo neither of us
"ſhall run the Hazard of a Defeat." For the Brother of *Sitalces* having formerly fled from him, was now in the Power of *Octamaſades*; who accepting the Condition, ſurrendred his Uncle to *Sitalces*, and receiv'd his Brother *Scyles* in exchange. *Sitalces*, upon the Delivery of his Brother, decamp'd with his Army; and *Octamaſades* took off the Head of *Scyles* the ſame Day. Thus the Scythians preſerve their own Cuſtoms; and thus they puniſh thoſe who introduce foreign Manners.

THE Diſcourſes I heard concerning the Numbers of the Scythians were ſo various, that I could not obtain any certain Information on that Subject; ſome pretending they were exceedingly numerous, and others ſaying they were very deficient of People. I ſhall therefore only relate what I have ſeen. The Diſtrict of *Exampæus*, which I lately mention'd when I ſpoke of the Spring that infects the Waters of the *Hypanis*, is ſituate between the *Boryſthenes* and that River. In this Place lies a Bowl of Braſs, ſix times bigger than that which was plac'd by *Pauſanias*, the Son of *Cleombrotus*, at the Mouth of the *Euxin Sea*. They who have not been Eye-witneſſes, may be here inform'd, that the Scythian Veſſel is ſix Inches thick, and large enough to contain full ſix hundred Amphoras. The Inhabitants ſay it was wrought up out of the Points of Arrows, by the Order of their King *Ariantes*; who being deſirous to

know the Number of the Scythians, commanded every one to bring him the Point of an Arrow on Pain of Death, by which Means ſo great a Number was brought together, that reſolving to leave a Monument of the Thing, he caus'd the Bowl of Braſs to be made, and dedicated in *Exampæus*. This I heard concerning the Numbers of the Scythians. Their Country has nothing wonderful except the Rivers, which are very many, and very great. But whatever may ſeem worthy of Obſervation, beſides the Rivers, and Extent of the Plains, ſhall not be omitted. They ſhew the Print of the Foot of *Hercules*, upon a Stone lying by the River *Tyres*; ſhap'd like the Step of a Man, and full two Cubits in Length. But I muſt now return to the Subject I principally deſign'd.

WHILST *Darius* was making Preparations againſt the Scythians, ſending Meſſengers to ſome Places, with Orders to raiſe Land-Forces, and commanding others to provide a Fleet, and to lay a Bridge over the Thracian *Boſphorus*; *Artabanus* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, and Brother of *Darius*, endeavour'd by all poſſible Means to diſſuade him from his intended Enterprize; repreſenting the Poverty of *Scythia*, and giving him moſt uſeful Counſel; but finding he could not prevail, forbore to preſs him any farther. When all things were ready, and *Darius* was marching from *Suſa* with his Forces, *Oeobazus*, a Perſian, who had three Sons in his Army, came and deſir'd him that one of the three might be left at Home. The King ſpoke kindly to him; told him the Favour he aſk'd was ſmall, and that he would leave him all his Sons: Which Anſwer *Oeobazus* receiv'd with great Joy; becauſe he hop'd

hop'd his Sons would have their Diſmiſſion from the Army. But *Darius* commanded the Officers appointed for ſuch Purpoſes, to put all the Sons of *Oeobazus* to Death, and in that Condition left them to their Father. Then marching with his Army from *Suſa*, he advanc'd to *Chalcedon* upon the *Boſphorus*, where a Bridge was laid ready for his Paſſage; and going on board a Ship, ſail'd to the *Cyanean Iſlands*, which, the Grecians ſay, were formerly unfix'd. There, ſitting in the Temple, he took a View of the *Euxin Sea:* A Proſpect truly beautiful. This Sea, of all others the moſt admirable, is eleven thouſand one hundred Stades in Length; and, in the wideſt Part, three thouſand two hundred in Breadth. The Mouth is four Stades over; and the Length of the Streights, which is call'd the *Boſphorus*, where the Bridge of Communication was laid, contains about an hundred and twenty Stades, and extends to the *Propontis*. The *Propontis* is five hundred Stades in Breadth, one thouſand four hundred in Length, and flows into the *Helleſpont*; which being ſeven Stades over in the narroweſt Place, and extending to four hundred Stades in Length, falls into the wide *Ægæan:* And this is the Meaſure of thoſe Seas. A Ship commonly advances about ſeventy thouſand Rod in a long Day, and about ſixty thouſand in the Night. So that a Voyage from the Mouth of the *Euxin Sea* to the River *Phaſis*, which is the utmoſt Point, may be perform'd in nine Days and eight Nights, comprehending the Meaſure of a hundred and ten thouſand and one hundred Rod, or eleven thouſand and one hundred Stades. From the Coaſt of *Scythia* to *Themiſcyra*, ſituate on the River *Thermodon*,

which is the broadeſt Part of the *Euxin Sea*, the Paſſage is made in three Days and two Nights; being three hundred and three thouſand Rod, or three thouſand and three hundred Stades over. Theſe are the Dimenſions of the *Euxin*, the *Boſphorus*, and the *Helleſpont*, which are ſituate as I have related. The *Euxin* receives the Waters of a Lake call'd *Mæotis*, not much inferior, in Circumference, to that Sea, and uſually nam'd the Mother of the *Euxin*. When *Darius* had ſurvey'd the Situation of this Sea, he return'd to the Bridge, which was contriv'd by *Mandrocles*, a Samian Architect. He likewiſe view'd the *Boſphorus*, and erected two Columns of white Stone on the Shore, with an Inſcription in the Aſſyrian Tongue on the one, and another in the Grecian Language on the other; mentioning the ſeveral Nations he had in his Army; which was compos'd of Men drawn out of every Country of his Empire, and amounted to the Number of ſeven hundred thouſand Horſe and Foot; beſides ſix hundred Sail of Ships. In ſucceeding Times theſe Pillars were remov'd, by the *Byzantians*, into their City, and us'd in building an Altar to the *Orthoſian Diana*; except one Stone, full of Aſſyrian Letters, which they left in a Temple dedicated to *Bacchus*, in *Byzantium*. The Place where *Darius* caus'd the Bridge to be laid over the *Boſphorus*, was, as I conjecture, in the middle of the way between *Byzantium* and the Temple which ſtands at the Mouth of that Sea. The King was ſo pleas'd with the Performance, that he rewarded the Samian Architect *Mandrocles*, with more than ten times the Value of the Work. And *Mandrocles* in Gratitude

Gratitude having painted the Conjunction of the two Shores, with *Darius* ſitting on a Throne, and his Army paſſing over the Bridge, dedicated the Picture in the Temple of *Juno*, under this Inſcription,

To Juno *ſacred, by* Mandrocles *plac'd,*
This Piece deſcribes the artful Bridge he lay'd
Over the Thracian Boſphorus. *He joyn'd*
The fertil Aſia *to* Europa's *Shore,*
Pleas'd the great King Darius, *and acquir'd*
Fame to his Country, to himſelf a Crown.

This Monument ſerv'd to preſerve the Memory of the Perſon who contriv'd the Bridge. And *Darius*, after he had rewarded *Mandrocles*, order'd his Army to paſs into *Europe*; commanding the Ionians to ſail by the *Euxin Sea* to the * *Iſter*; there to wait his Arrival, and lay a Bridge over that River: For his naval Forces conſiſted of Ionians, Æolians, and Helleſponts. They paſs'd accordingly by the *Cyanean Iſlands*, ſhaping their Courſe directly to the *Iſter*, and after they had ſail'd up the River during two Days, arriving at that Neck where the Stream divides into ſeveral Branches, they form'd a Bridge. In the mean Time *Darius* had paſs'd over the *Boſphorus*, and marching thro' *Thrace*, arriv'd at the Head of the River *Tearus*, and encamp'd there with his Army three Days. The Inhabitants of the Country ſay, this River is more excellent than any other for the Cure of various Diſtempers; and eſpecially of Ulcers either in Men or Horſes. The Springs of the *Tearus* are thirty eight; and

* The *Danube*.

tho' ſome of theſe are hot, and others cold; yet all deſcend from the ſame Rock. They are at an equal Diſtance from *Heræopolis* near *Perinthus*, and *Apollonia* on the *Euxin Sea*; two Days Journey from each. The *Tearus* runs into the *Contadeſdus*; the *Contadeſdus* into the *Agriane*; the *Agriane* into the *Hebrus*, and the *Hebrus* into the Sea by the City of *Ænus*. *Darius* incamping at this River, was ſo pleas'd, that he erected a Pillar with the following Inſcription; THE SPRINGS OF THE *TEARUS* YIELD THE BEST AND MOST BEAUTIFUL WATER OF ALL RIVERS: *DARIUS* THE SON OF *HYSTASPES*, KING OF THE PERSIANS AND OF ALL THE CONTINENT, THE BEST AND MOST EXCELLENT OF MEN, LEADING AN ARMY AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS, ARRIV'D HERE. When he had done this, he decamp'd, and advanc'd to another River call'd *Artiſcus*; which paſſes thro' the Country of the Odryſians; where, at his Arrival he mark'd out a certain Ground, commanding every Man of the Army to bring a Stone thither as he ſhould paſs by the Place; and when they had executed his Order, he mov'd again, leaving vaſt Heaps of Stones behind him. But before he reach'd the *Iſter*, he ſubdued the Getes, who think themſelves immortal. For the Thracians of *Salmydeſſus*, together with the Cyrmians and Mypſæans, who inhabit above the Cities of *Apollonia* and *Meſambria*, ſubmitted to *Darius* without Reſiſtance. But the Getes oppos'd him thro' Ignorance; and tho' they are the moſt valiant and honeſt of all the Thracians, were eaſily conquer'd, and reduc'd to Servitude. They pretend to Immortality, in this

this Manner. They imagine that the Man who ceaſes to live, is not dead, but goes to *Zamolxis*, accounted by ſome among them to be the ſame with *Gebelizis*. Every fifth Year they elect a Perſon by Lot, and ſend him to *Zamolxis* with Orders to let him know what they want. This Meſſenger they diſpatch thus. Certain Perſons are appointed to hold three Javelins erected; whilſt others taking the Man they are to ſend, by the Hands and Feet, throw him up into the Air; that he may fall down upon the Points. If he dyes in their Preſence, they think the God propitious: If not, they load him with Reproaches, and affirming he is an ill Man ſend another, whom they furniſh with Inſtructions while he is yet alive. Theſe Thracians, in Time of Thunder and Lightning, let fly their Arrows againſt the Heavens, and threaten their God; whom they think the only Deity. But I am inform'd by the Grecians who inhabit about the *Helleſpont* and *Euxin* Seas, that this *Zamolxis* was a Man, and liv'd at *Samos* in the Service of *Pythagoras* the Son of *Mneſarchus*: That having procur'd his Liberty, and acquir'd great Riches, he return'd to his own Country; and finding the Thracians ignorant and miſerable, he, who had learnt the Ionian Way of Living, and Manners more polite than thoſe of *Thrace*, by converſing with Grecians, and with *Pythagoras*, a Sophiſt of no ſmall Eſteem in *Greece*, built a Hall for the Entertainment of the principal Perſons of the Country, and taught them at their Feaſts, that neither he, nor any of thoſe preſent, or their Poſterity, ſhould ever dye; but go into a Place, where they ſhould live eternally in all Manner

of Felicity. In the mean Time he contriv'd a ſubterraneous Habitation for himſelf, and having finiſh'd the Building, went down and continued there during three Years. The Thracians ſeeing him no more, regretted their Loſs, and lamented him, as dead: But in the third Year he appear'd again, and by that Means perſuaded them to believe the things he had ſaid. Thus the Story is told: And for my own Part, I neither abſolutely reject, nor intirely believe the Account of this Perſon and his ſubterraneous Habitation: But I am of Opinion that *Zamolxis* liv'd many Years before *Pythagoras*. Yet whether this *Zamolxis* was a Man, or a native *Dæmon* among the Getes, I ſhall not diſpute. However, that People, obſerving ſuch Cuſtoms as I mention'd before, follow'd the Army of *Darius*, after they were ſubdued.

THE King arriving with all his Land Forces at the *Iſter*, paſs'd over the River, and commanded the Ionians to break the Bridge, and joyn the Army with the Men they had on board. But as they were preparing to execute his Orders, *Coes* the Son of *Erxandrus*, and General of the Mitylenians, after he had aſk'd *Darius* if he might be permitted to deliver his Opinion freely, ſpoke to him in theſe Terms; "O King, ſaid he, ſince "we are going to make War in a Country which "uſes no Plow, nor has any inhabited Cities, "let the Bridge remain intire, under the Guard "of thoſe who put it together: That, whether "we find the Scythians and ſucceed in our "Enterprize, or whether we find them not, we "may at leaſt ſecure our Retreat. I am not "afraid the Scythians will defeat us in Battle;

" yet I fear we may ſuffer, by miſtaking the " Way, if the Enemy will not be found. Per- " haps ſome may think I ſay this for my own " ſake; in order to continue here. But, O " King, I ſincerely propoſe what I judge moſt " conducing to the Good of your Affairs: For " I deſign to march with an Army, and not to " remain in this Place." *Darius pleas'd with his Advice, anſwer'd him thus*; " Leſbian Friend, " If I return Home in Safety, fail not to " come into my Preſence; that I may reward " the beſt of Counſels with the greateſt Ac- " knowledgment." Then tying ſixty Knots upon a String, and calling for the Ionian Commanders, he ſaid, " Men of *Ionia*, I have al- " ter'd the Reſolution I had made concerning " the Bridge: And therefore, take this String, " and do as I direct. Every Day, after you ſee " me beginning to march againſt the Scythians, " untye one of theſe Knots: And if I return " not within that Time, and the Days of my " Abſence exceed the Number of the Knots, " you may depart with your Ships to your " own Country. In the mean Time, be upon " your Guard, and apply the utmoſt of your " Care to preſerve and ſecure the Bridge: Which " will be the moſt acceptable thing you can do " for me." And after *Darius* had ſpoken theſe Words, he broke up with his Army, and began his March.

THE Territories of *Thrace* lye extended along the Borders of *Scythia*, and deſcend to the Sea in the Form of a Bay. Above theſe Countries *Scythia* begins, and the *Iſter* falls into the *Euxin*, with his Mouth turn'd towards the Eaſt. But I muſt now deſcribe thoſe Regions of *Scythia*, that

that begin at the *Iſter*, and ſtretch down by the Sea Coaſt. That Part, which lies North and South of the *Iſter*, is the ancient *Scythia*, and extends to the City of *Carcinitis*. And the mountainous Regions, which begin at that Place, and are ſituate along the *Exin*, deſcending towards the Shore, belong to the People of *Taurus*, and reach to the rocky *Cherſoneſus*, that terminates in the Eaſtern Sea. Thus *Scythia* is divided into two Parts, both extending to the Sea; one towards the South and the other towards the Eaſt; not unlike the Region of *Attica*. For the Inhabitants of *Taurus* are ſo plac'd in *Scythia*; as any other People would be, who inſtead of the Athenians, ſhould poſſeſs the Promontory of *Sunium*, which advances to the Sea between the Tribes of *Thoricus* and *Anaphlyſtus*. Such is the Situation of *Taurus*; if I may be permitted to compare ſmall things with great. But to thoſe who have never ſail'd by that Part of *Attica*, I ſhall explain my ſelf farther: Suppoſe then, that a Nation diſtinct from the Japygians, ſhould poſſeſs the Promontory of *Japygia*, from the Port of *Brunduſium* to *Tarentum*, and by that Means cut off the Communication between the other Parts of the Country. Many other Inſtances of the ſame Nature might be given; but I need add no more to illuſtrate the Deſcription of *Taurus*. The Scythians inhabit the Countries that lye beyond the Taurians, and thoſe that extend to the Eaſtern Sea; together with the Regions ſituate to the Weſtward of the Cimmerian *Boſphorus* and the Lake *Mæotis*, to the River *Tanais*, which flows into that Lake. So that thoſe Countries which beginning at the *Iſter*, advance upwards to the midland

midland Parts, are border'd firſt by the Agathyrſians; then by the Neurians; next by the Androphages; and in the laſt place, by the Melanchlænians. Thus *Scythia* if of a quadrangular Form; and the two Parts that deſcend to the Sea, are equal to the other two that lye far within the Land. For from the *Iſter* to the *Boryſthenes*, is a Journey of ten Days; ten more from the *Boryſthenes* to the Lake *Mæotis*; and twenty from the Sea by the midland Countries to the Melanchlænians, who inhabit above the Scythians. Now if we allow two hundred Stades for every Day's Journey, the Way that traverſes *Scythia*, contains four thouſand Stades in Length; and the direct Paſſage upwards by the midland Parts, the ſame Number. Such is the Extent of this Country.

THE Scythians, after they had conferr'd together, and found they were not able with their own Forces to reſiſt the Army of *Darius* in the open Field, diſpatch'd Meſſengers to the adjoining Nations; and when their Kings were aſſembled, they conſulted how to act, under the Apprehenſions of being invaded by ſo numerous an Army. This Aſſembly conſiſted of the Kings of *Taurus*; of the Agathyrſians; of the Neurians; of the Androphages; of the Melanchlænians; of the Gelones; of the Budians, and of the Sarmatians. Of theſe, the Taurians obſerve the following Cuſtoms. All thoſe who ſuffer Shipwrack, and the Grecians they ſieze upon their Coaſt, they ſacrifice to a Virgin in this Manner. After many Imprecations, they ſtrike the Man on the Head with a Club, and, as ſome affirm, precipitate the Body from a Hill, on which their Temple

Temple is built; reſerving only the Head to be fix'd on a Pole; whilſt others, acknowledging this to be the Way they uſe in diſpoſing of the Head, yet pretend they never throw the Body down from the Hill, but bury it under Ground. The Inhabitants of *Taurus* ſay, that the *Dæmon* they worſhip with theſe Sacrifices, is *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon*. Thoſe who fall into their Hands in Time of War, are treated in another Manner. For every one cuts off the Head of an Enemy; which he carries Home, and fixes to a long Pole erected on the Top of his Houſe, and, for the moſt Part, over the Chimny: Which they ſay, is done in order to guard the Houſe. This People live by War and Rapine. The Agathyrſians are a luxurious Nation, and uſually wear Cloaths embroider'd with Gold. They have their Women in common, to the End they may be all Brethren; by this Means converſing ſo familiarly together, that they never exerciſe any mutual Envy and Animoſities. In other things they approach the Manners of the Thracians. The Neurians obſerve the Cuſtoms of *Scythia*; and one Generation before the Expedition of *Darius*, were driven out of their Country by Serpents. For beſides thoſe that were bred in their own Territories, a much greater Number came down from the Deſarts, and ſo infeſted them, that they were compelled to abandon their Habitations, and retire among the Budians. Theſe Men attempt to be Magicians; and the Scythians, with the Grecians who inhabit in *Scythia*, ſay, that all the Neurians once every Year are transform'd into Wolves for a few Days, and then reſume their former

former Shape. But I am not perſuaded to believe this, tho' they affirm their Aſſertion with Oaths. The Androphages live in a more ſavage Manner than any other Nation; having no publick Diſtribution of Juſtice, nor eſtabliſh'd Laws. They apply themſelves to the breeding of Cattle; cloath themſelves like the Scythians, and ſpeak a peculiar Language. The Melanchlænians wear no other Garments than Black, and had their Name from that Cuſtom. Theſe follow the Uſages of *Scythia*; but are the only People of all thoſe Countries, who feed upon human Fleſh. The Budians are a great and populous Nation, with Eyes very blue, and red Hair. They have a City call'd by the Name of *Gelonus*; built with Timber, and ſurrounded by a high Wall of the ſame Materials; each ſide of which is three hundred Stades in Length. The Buildings, as well ſacred as private, are of Timber likewiſe: And they have Temples dedicated to the Gods of *Greece*, adorn'd after the Grecian Manner with Images, Altars, and Chapels of Wood. They celebrate the Triennial Feſtivals of *Bacchus*, and perform the Bacchanalian Ceremonies. For the Gelonians were originally Grecians; who tranſplanted themſelves from the trading Ports of *Greece*, and ſettled among the Budians: Where they uſe a Language compos'd of the Scythian and Grecian Tongues. But the Budians differ from the Gelonians in Speech, and in their Manner of Living. For being Original Inhabitants of the Country, they apply themſelves to the keeping of Cattle; and are the only People of theſe Parts who eat Lice: Whereas the Gelonians till the Land; feed upon Corn; cultivate

cultivate Gardens; and are utterly unlike the Budians both in Mien and Complexion; tho' the Grecians without ground call the Budians by the Name of the Gelonians. Their Country abounds in Trees of all Kinds; and in that Part, where they grow in greateſt Numbers, lies a deep and ſpacious Lake, ſurrounded by a Moraſs cover'd with Reeds. In this Place, Otters, Beavers, and other Animals of a ſquare Viſage, are frequently taken Their Skins ſew'd together ſerve for Garments, and their Teſticles are uſeful in the Diſeaſes of the Mother. Concerning the Sarmatians we have the following Account. When the Grecians had fought a Battle on the River *Thermodon* againſt the Amazons, who by the Scythians are call'd *Aiorpata*, or in our Language *Manſlayers*; *Aior* ſignifying a Man, and *Pata* to kill; they departed after the Victory they had obtain'd, and in three of their Ships carried off all the Amazons they could take alive. Whilſt they were out at Sea, theſe Amazons conſpir'd againſt the Men, and kill'd all they found on Board. But having no Knowledge of Navigation, nor any Skill in the Uſe of the Rudder, Sails or Oars, they were driven by Wind and Tide, 'till they arriv'd at the Precipices of the Lake *Mæotis* in the Territories of the Free Scythians. Here the Amazons went aſhoar, and marching into the Country ſiez'd and mounted the firſt Herd of Horſes they found, and began to plunder the Inhabitants. The Scythians could not imagine the meaning of this Incurſion; and being utterly ignorant of their Language, Habit and Nation, wonder'd from whence they came. They firſt conjectur'd that they were Men, all of the ſame Age: But

after they had skirmiſh'd with them, and taken ſome Priſoners, they ſoon perceiv'd they were Women. The Scythians therefore conſulting together, reſolv'd not to kill them; but to ſend out a Party conſiſting of a like Number of young Men, with Orders to poſt themſelves near their Camp, and attend their Motions. If the Women ſhould attack the Party, they were commanded to fly, without making Reſiſtance; and when they ſhould find themſelves no longer purſued, then to return again, and encamp within the leaſt Diſtance they could. This Reſolution the Scythians took, out of a great Deſire to have Children by theſe Women. The young Men obſerv'd their Inſtructions, and when the Amazons found they were not come with hoſtile Intentions, they ſuffer'd them to continue there without Moleſtation: And as they had nothing except their Arms and Horſes, they liv'd in the ſame Manner by Hunting and Pillage. About Noon the Amazons uſually ſeparated themſelves; and ſometimes ſingle, ſometimes two together, went out to comply with the Neceſſities of Nature: Which when the Scythians perceiv'd, they did ſo likewiſe. And by this Means one of theſe walking alone, met with an Amazon: Who not offering to withdraw, and reſolving to make uſe of the Occaſion, tho' ſhe could not ſpeak to him in Words, becauſe neither underſtood the Language of the other; yet ſhe made him underſtand by certain Motions of her Hand, that if he would come the next Day to the ſame Place, accompany'd by another Scythian, ſhe would bring one of her Companions with her. The young Man, after this Invitation, departed; and having

having related his Adventure to the reſt, went the next Day with another Scythian to the Place of Aſſignation, and found the two Amazons expecting their Arrival. Upon Information of which Succeſs, the reſt of the young Men addreſs'd themſelves to the remaining Amazons; the two Camps were joyn'd, and every one kept for his Wife the Perſon he firſt convers'd with. But becauſe the Men could not attain to ſpeak the Amazonian Tongue, the Women learn'd the Language of *Scythia*; and when they found on both ſides, that they liv'd in a perfect Agreement, the Scythians ſpoke to the Amazons in theſe Terms. "We have our Parents "and Poſſeſſions; and being on that Account "unwilling to continue longer in this Way of "living, we would return and live among our "Countrymen; always retaining you and no "other Perſons, for our Wives." To this the Amazons anſwer'd; "We ſhall never indure "to live with the Women of your Country; "becauſe we differ in Manners. For we have "been accuſtom'd to draw a Bow; throw a "Javelin; and mount a Horſe; and were never "inſtructed in the uſual Employments of other "Women. Whereas the Scythian Wives do "none of the things we have mention'd: But "are employ'd in Womaniſh Labours; ſitting "ſtill in your Waggons; unaccuſtom'd to Hunting or any other Exerciſe; and therefore "we cannot comply with their Manner of "Life. Nevertheleſs, if you are deſirous to "keep us for your Wives, and to act like "honeſt Men, go to your Parents; and after you "have receiv'd your Part of their Riches, return "and we will live together." The young Men, conſenting

conſenting to go as they deſir'd, obtain'd every one his Portion; and at their Return, the Amazons propos'd another Expedient, in theſe Words: "Two things deter us from living "in this Country: For we have depriv'd you "of your Parents; and have committed great "Depredations in theſe Parts. Therefore, ſince "you have thought us worthy to be your "Wives, let us unanimouſly agree to paſs the "*Tanais*, and fix our Habitations on the other "Side of that River." The young Men conſenting to this alſo, they paſs'd the *Tanais*; and after a March of three Days from the River Eaſtward, and three more from the Lake *Mæotis* to the Northward, they arriv'd and ſettled in the Regions they now inhabit. Hence the Wives of the Sarmatians ſtill continue their ancient Way of Living. They hunt on Horſeback in the Company of their Husbands, and ſometimes alone: They march with their Armies, and wear the ſame Dreſs with the Men. The Sarmatians uſe the Scythian Language; but corrupted from the Beginning; becauſe the Amazons never learnt to ſpeak correctly. Their Marriages are attended with this Circumſtance: No Virgin is permitted to marry, 'till ſhe has kill'd an Enemy in the Field; ſo that ſome always grow old before they can qualify themſelves as the Law requires.

THE Meſſengers diſpatch'd by the Scythians, inform'd the Kings of the Nations I have mention'd, in their Aſſembly, that the Perſian, having ſubdued all the Countries on the other Continent, had joyn'd the two Shores by a Bridge, and paſs'd over the Neck of the *Boſphorus* to this Side: Where he had already reduc'd the Thra-

cians, and laid another Bridge upon the *Iſter*, with deſign to conquer all thoſe Regions in like Manner: " And therefore, ſaid they, you ought " not to ſit ſtill at Home, and look upon our " Deſtruction with Indifference; but joyning all " our Forces together, let us unanimouſly " march out, and meet the Invader. If you " refuſe to take this Reſolution, we ſhall be " compell'd either to abandon the Country, or " make our Compoſition; for to what End " ſhould we ſuffer the laſt Extremities, if you " refuſe to aſſiſt us? Beſides you are in equal " Danger: The Perſian is marching againſt you " no leſs than againſt us; and, that he will not " content himſelf to deſtroy our Country, and " leave you undiſturb'd, his own Actions are " the cleareſt Demonſtration: For if he had " undertaken this Expedition only againſt us, " in order to revenge former Injuries, he ought " to have march'd directly into our Territories, " without offering Violence to any other Na- " tion; and by that Means have convinc'd all, " that he had no other Enterprize in his Inten- " tions, than the Conqueſt of *Scythia*. Where- " as on the contrary, at his Arrival on this Con- " tinent, he receiv'd the Submiſſions of thoſe " Places that lay in his Way; and reduc'd the " reſt of *Thrace*, with our Neighbours the " Getes, to his Obedience." When the Scythi- ans had finiſh'd theſe Words, the Kings who were preſent on the Part of ſeveral Nations, de- liberated touching their Propoſal, and divided in Opinion. Thoſe of the Gelonians, Budians, and Sarmatians, unanimouſly determin'd to aſſiſt the Scythians: But the Kings of the Agathyr- ſians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlænians,

and Taurians, made this Anſwer to the Meſſengers. " If you had not been the firſt Aggreſ-
" ſors, and done the firſt Injury to the Perſians,
" we ſhould acknowledge the Equity of your
" preſent Demands; and readily yielding to
" your Deſires, would concur with you in one
" common Cauſe. But as you invaded their
" Territories without our Participation, and
" kept your Acquiſitions there, during all the
" Time God favour'd your Arms: So now, by
" the Inſtigation of the ſame God, they return
" you the ſame Meaſure: And therefore, hav-
" ing had no Part in that unjuſt Invaſion, we
" will not now begin to injure the Perſians.
" Yet if this Man ſhould wrongfully attack us,
" and exerciſe Hoſtility in our Country, we
" would not endure the Affront. 'Till that
" Time we ſhall remain quiet at Home: Be-
" cauſe we think the Perſians are not come
" with hoſtile Intentions againſt us; but againſt
" thoſe, who were the Authors of the firſt In-
" juries."

When the Scythians had receiv'd an Account of this Negotiation, they determin'd to fight no Battle in the open Field, becauſe ſo many Nations had refus'd to aſſiſt them: But to withdraw themſelves gradually from the Frontiers; and filling up all the Wells and Springs in their Way, and deſtroying the Herbage, to divide their Forces into two Bodies. They reſolv'd that the Sarmatians ſhould advance to the Territories of King *Scopaſis*; with Directions, if the Perſian ſhould turn his March that Way, to retire by the Lake *Mæotis* to the River *Tanais*, and upon his Retreat, to follow him and harraſs his Army. Theſe Orders were to be obſerv'd,

in relation to that Part of the Kingdom. The two other Diviſions; one of which being the greater, was under the Government of *Indathyrſus*, and the other commanded by *Taxacis*, were directed to act in Conjunction with the Gelonians and Budians; keeping a Day's March before the Perſians, and tiring them with frequent Skirmiſhes: Then retreating again, purſuant to their Inſtructions, they were to endeavour, by all poſſible Means, to draw the Enemy into the Territories of thoſe who had rejected their Alliance; that ſince they refus'd to take Part voluntarily in the War againſt the Perſians, they might be compell'd againſt their Will to defend themſelves: And if that Deſign ſhould ſucceed, they might return to their own Country, and attempt whatever they ſhould judge moſt neceſſary. When the Scythians had fix'd theſe Orders, they march'd by private Ways towards the Army of *Darius*, and commanded the beſt of their Horſe to advance before the reſt; having already ſent away their Wives and Children in the Waggons they uſe inſtead of Houſes, with all their Cattle, except ſo many as they thought neceſſary for their Subſiſtance, ordering them to retire inceſſantly Northward. The Detachment of Scythian Horſe finding the Perſians advanc'd about three Days March from the *Iſter*, encamp'd; and having deſtroy'd all the Product of the Ground, fled away. The Perſians ſeeing this Cavalry appear, trac'd them by the Marks they left behind; and entring one of the Diſtricts, purſued the Scythians; who fled Eaſtward to the River *Tanais*, which they paſs'd; the Perſians ſtill following them thro' *Sarmatia*, into the Territories of the Budians. All the time the

Perſians were marching thro' the Scythian and Sarmatian Region, they found nothing to ravage, becauſe thoſe Parts were utterly unimprov'd. But entring the Country of the Budians, and arriving at their City, which was built with Wood, and abandon'd by the Inhabitants, after they had carried all away, they ſet fire to the Place. Then purſuing their March, they travers'd the whole Region, and arriv'd in an uninhabited Deſart, ſituate above the Budians, and not to be paſs'd in leſs than ſeven Days. Beyond this Deſart the Theſſagetes inhabit; and four great Rivers known by the Names of the *Lycus*, *Oarus*, *Tanais*, and *Syrgis*, riſe within their Country; and paſſing thro' the Territories of the Mæotians, flow into the Lake *Mæotis*. *Darius* arriving at the Deſart, ceas'd his Purſuit, and encamp'd with his Army on the River *Oarus*. During his Stay there, he built eight ſpacious Cities, equally diſtant, about ſixty Stades from each other; the Ruins of which remain to this Day: And whilſt he was employ'd in this Work, the Scythians marching about by the upper Regions, return'd into *Scythia*; and *Darius*, perceiving they were withdrawn, and appear'd no more, left his Cities unfiniſh'd, and turn'd his March to the Weſtward; ſuppoſing them to be all the Scythians, and that they had fled that Way. He advanc'd with his Army in great Diligence; and entring *Scythia* fell in with two of the Scythian Diviſions, and purſued them a whole Day without Intermiſſion. The Scythians deſignedly flying towards thoſe Nations that had refus'd to aſſiſt them, enter'd firſt into the Territories of the Melanchlænians: And, when they

in relation to that Part of the Kingdom. The two other Diviſions; one of which being the greater, was under the Government of *Indathyrſus*, and the other commanded by *Taxacis*, were directed to act in Conjunction with the Gelonians and Budians; keeping a Day's March before the Perſians, and tiring them with frequent Skirmiſhes: Then retreating again, purſuant to their Inſtructions, they were to endeavour, by all poſſible Means, to draw the Enemy into the Territories of thoſe who had rejected their Alliance; that ſince they refus'd to take Part voluntarily in the War againſt the Perſians, they might be compell'd againſt their Will to defend themſelves: And if that Deſign ſhould ſucceed, they might return to their own Country, and attempt whatever they ſhould judge moſt neceſſary. When the Scythians had fix'd theſe Orders, they march'd by private Ways towards the Army of *Darius*, and commanded the beſt of their Horſe to advance before the reſt; having already ſent away their Wives and Children in the Waggons they uſe inſtead of Houſes, with all their Cattle, except ſo many as they thought neceſſary for their Subſiſtance, ordering them to retire inceſſantly Northward. The Detachment of Scythian Horſe finding the Perſians advanc'd about three Days March from the *Iſter*, encamp'd; and having deſtroy'd all the Product of the Ground, fled away. The Perſians ſeeing this Cavalry appear, trac'd them by the Marks they left behind; and entring one of the Diſtricts, purſued the Scythians; who fled Eaſtward to the River *Tanais*, which they paſs'd; the Perſians ſtill following them thro' *Sarmatia*, into the Territories of the Budians. All the time the

Perſians were marching thro' the Scythian and Sarmatian Region, they found nothing to ravage, becauſe thoſe Parts were utterly unimprov'd. But entring the Country of the Budians, and arriving at their City, which was built with Wood, and abandon'd by the Inhabitants, after they had carried all away, they ſet fire to the Place. Then purſuing their March, they travers'd the whole Region, and arriv'd in an uninhabited Deſart, ſituate above the Budians, and not to be paſs'd in leſs than ſeven Days. Beyond this Deſart the Theſſagetes inhabit; and four great Rivers known by the Names of the *Lycus*, *Oarus*, *Tanais*, and *Syrgis*, riſe within their Country; and paſſing thro' the Territories of the Mæotians, flow into the Lake *Mæotis*. *Darius* arriving at the Deſart, ceas'd his Purſuit, and encamp'd with his Army on the River *Oarus*. During his Stay there, he built eight ſpacious Cities, equally diſtant, about ſixty Stades from each other; the Ruins of which remain to this Day: And whilſt he was employ'd in this Work, the Scythians marching about by the upper Regions, return'd into *Scythia*; and *Darius*, perceiving they were withdrawn, and appear'd no more, left his Cities unfiniſh'd, and turn'd his March to the Weſtward; ſuppoſing them to be all the Scythians, and that they had fled that Way. He advanc'd with his Army in great Diligence; and entring *Scythia* fell in with two of the Scythian Diviſions, and purſued them a whole Day without Intermiſſion. The Scythians deſignedly flying towards thoſe Nations that had refus'd to aſſiſt them, enter'd firſt into the Territories of the Melanchlænians: And, when they

and the Perſians had equally contributed to put all things there into Confuſion, they drew the Perſians after them into the Country of the Androphages: Where, after they had committed the like Diſorders, the Scythians led the Enemy among the Neurians; and having brought theſe alſo into the ſame Circumſtances, withdrew again towards the Agathyrſians. But before they enter'd the Country, the Agathyrſians ſeeing all their Neighbours flying in Confuſion before the Scythians, diſpatch'd a Herald to forbid them to come within their Limits; and at the ſame Time to inform them, that, if they ſhould attempt to force their Way, they muſt firſt fight with the Agathyrſians. This Meſſage was no ſooner ſent, than the Agathyrſians march'd to the Borders, with a Reſolution to defend their Territories againſt all Invaders. Whereas the Melanchlænians, Androphages, and Neurians, never thought of defending themſelves againſt the Invaſion of the Scythians and Perſians; but forgetting their former Menaces, fled with the utmoſt Precipitation to the Northern Deſarts. The Scythians, upon the Admonition of the Agathyrſians, did not attempt to enter their Country; but departing from *Neuria*, retreated before the Perſians into their own Territories. And after they had continued to withdraw themſelves in this Manner for a conſiderable Time, *Darius* ſent a Horſeman to *Indathyrſus* King of *Scythia*, with the following Meſſage, "Wretched Man, Why doſt thou inceſſantly betake thyſelf to Flight, when thou mayeſt "chuſe one of theſe two things? If thou art "perſuaded thy Forces are able to encounter my "Army in the Field; halt, and fight: If not,

"come,

" come, and own me for thy Lord, by pre-
" ſenting me with Earth and Water, in Teſti-
" mony of thy Submiſſion." To this Meſſage the Scythian King made Anſwer in theſe Words. " The Way I have taken is moſt ſuitable to the " State of my Affairs. I never fled from any " Man out of Fear; neither have I declin'd to " give thee Battle from that Motive. For in " all this, I have done nothing new; or dif-
" ferent from our conſtant Cuſtom, even in " Time of Peace. But I will not conceal the " Reaſons that move us to this Conduct. We " have no Towns, nor cultivated Lands; and " therefore being under no Apprehenſion of " Depredation and Ravage, we did not imme-
" diately offer you Battle. Yet if you are ſo " deſirous to conſtrain us to fight, we have " the Sepulchres of our Anceſtors among us; " which if you find, and attempt to violate, " you will ſoon be convinc'd whether we will " fight on that Account, or not. For we are " reſolv'd not to come to a Battle without " good Reaſon. But to leave this Point; I am " to tell you in the next Place, That I ac-
" knowledge no other Lords, than *Jupiter* my " Progenitor, and *Veſta* Queen of the Scythi-
" ans; That inſtead of preſenting you with " Earth and Water, I ſhall ſend you ſuch a " Preſent as you deſerve; and perhaps, you may " repent your Inſolence, in aſſuming the Title " of my Maſter." With this Anſwer the Meſſenger departed, and at his Return inform'd *Darius* of all that had paſs'd.

When the Kings of *Scythia* had heard the Name of Servitude, they were fill'd with Indignation, and order'd the Diviſion of *Scopaſis*,

which had been joyn'd by the Sarmatians, to advance, and confer with the Ionians, who guarded the Bridge they had laid over the *Iſter*. And after their Departure the reſt reſolv'd to lead the Perſians no longer about; but to attack them whenever they ſhould go out to forage: which Deſign they put in Execution, and ſurpriz'd the Troops of *Darius* at thoſe Times. In theſe Encounters the Scythian Horſe always routed the Perſians, and drove them to their Camp: Where finding they were ſuccour'd by their Infantry, the Scythians were forc'd to retire out of fear of the Perſian Foot. Beſides they frequently attack'd the Enemy in the Night, and alarm'd their Camp. But that, which was no leſs ſtrange, than prejudicial to the Scythians in the Aſſaults they made; and very advantageous to the Perſians; was the Cry of the Aſſes, and Form of the Mules. For *Scythia* produces neither of thoſe Animals, as I have already obſerv'd; the Climate being utterly improper to that End by Reaſon of Cold. The braying of the Aſſes put the Scythian Horſe into Confuſion; and frequently as they were advancing to fall upon the Perſians, their Horſes no ſooner heard the Noiſe, than in a great Fright, and with erected Ears, they turn'd ſhort about; having never before heard ſuch a Voice, nor ſeen ſuch a Shape: And this Accident was of ſome Importance in the War. But when the Scythians ſaw the Perſians falling into great Difficulties, they contriv'd this Stratagem to detain them longer in *Scythia*, to the end they might be reduc'd to the utmoſt Straits, and the want of all things neceſſary: They remov'd to a greater Diſtance; leaving their Cattle

Cattle to the Care of Shepherds; and the Perſians coming up, took the Booty, and pleas'd themſelves with their good Fortune. This they repeated ſeveral times; 'till at laſt the Scythian Kings underſtanding that the Neceſſities of *Darius* were become very preſſing, ſent a Herald to preſent him on their Part with a Bird, a Mouſe, a Frog, and five Arrows. The Perſians ask'd the Meaning of this Preſent; but the Herald made Anſwer, That he had no other Orders, than to deliver the things, and return immediately; yet ſhould adviſe, that the Perſians would conſider, if they were Men of any Penetration, what ſuch a Gift might ſignify. The Perſians having heard this Anſwer conſulted together, and *Darius* declar'd his Opinion to be, That the Scythians had by their Preſent made a Surrender of themſelves, and given him Poſſeſſion of the Land and Water: "For, ſaid he, the "Mouſe is bred in the Earth, and ſubſiſts by "the ſame Food as a Man: A Frog lives in "the Water; a Bird may be compar'd to a "Horſe; and with their Arrows they ſeem to "deliver their whole Force into my Hands." This was the Opinion of *Darius*. But *Gobryas*, one of the ſeven who had depos'd the Mage, being of a different Sentiment, ſaid the Preſent intimated, "That unleſs the Perſians could aſ-"cend into the Air like a Bird; or conceal "themſelves in the Earth like Mice; or plunge "into the Fens like Frogs; they ſhould inevi-"tably periſh by thoſe Arrows; and never re-"turn Home:" To which Interpretation the reſt of the Perſians concurr'd. In the mean Time that Part of the Scythians, which had been appointed to guard the Lake *Mæotis*, and were then

commanded

commanded to parly with the Ionians at the *Iſter*, arriv'd in the Place where the Bridge was laid, and ſpoke to this Effect; "Men "of *Ionia*, If you will hearken to us, we are "come to make you an Offer of your Liberty. "We have heard that *Darius* commanded you "to guard the Bridge ſixty Days only, and "then return into your own Country, unleſs "he ſhould arrive before the Expiration of "that Time. Now therefore, ſince you have "continued here 'till all thoſe Days are e-"laps'd, put his Orders in Execution, and "make no Difficulty to depart: By which "Means you will avoid to give any juſt Oc-"caſion of Offence either to *Darius* or to us." The Ionians promis'd to do as they deſir'd, and the Scythians return'd to their Station with all Expedition.

THE reſt of the Scythians, after they had ſent the Preſent I have mention'd, to *Darius*, advanc'd towards the Perſians with all their Forces both of Horſe and Foot, as if they intended to fight; and as they ſtood in Order of Battle, a Hare ſtarted in the Interval between the two Armies. The Scythians immediately quitting their Ranks, purſued the Hare with loud Outcries; and when *Darius* ſaw the Confuſion of the Enemy, and underſtood that they follow'd a Hare, he ſaid to thoſe he truſted with all things; "Theſe "Men treat us with great Contempt; and I am "convinc'd that *Gobryas* judg'd rightly concern-"ing the Preſent of the Scythians. Therefore "being now of the ſame Opinion, I think we "ſtand in need of the beſt Advice, to ſecure our "Return into our own Country." To this, *Gobryas* anſwer'd; "Fame had made me in ſome

"Meaſure

"Meaſure acquainted with the Indigence of "theſe Men: But I have learn'd much more "ſince I came hither, and obſerv'd in what Man-"ner they deride us. My Opinion therefore is, "that immediately upon the Cloſe of the Day, "we ſhould light Fires according to Cuſtom, "and leaving the worſt of our Forces in the "Camp to deceive the Enemy, with all the "Aſſes tied up in a uſual Manner, decamp "and march away, before the Scythians go "and break the Bridge on the *Iſter*, or the Io-"nians contrive Miſchief againſt us, as they eaſi-"ly may." This was the Advice of *Gobryas*; and when Night came, *Darius* put his Counſel in Execution; leaving all the ſick behind in his Camp, with thoſe whoſe Loſs would leaſt affect him, and, the Aſſes rang'd in order. He left the Aſſes, that they might make a continual Noiſe; and the Men, under Colour of attacking the Enemy with the ſound Part of the Army, whilſt they ſhould remain for the Security of the Camp. Thus *Darius* impoſing upon thoſe he was preparing to abandon, and having caus'd the uſual Fires to be kindled, marched away in great Haſte towards the *Iſter*. The Aſſes being left alone, began to bray much louder than before; ſo that the Scythians hearing the Noiſe, firmly believ'd the Perſians were ſtill in their Camp. But upon the Appearance of Day, the Men that were abandon'd, finding themſelves betray'd by *Darius*, extended their Hands, and acquainted the Scythians with the State of Affairs: Who preſently drawing together the two Scythian Diviſions; and joyning the other Part, which had been reinforc'd by the Budians and Gelonians; follow'd the Perſians towards

towards the *Iſter:* But becauſe the Perſians had great Numbers of Foot in their Army, and were altogether ignorant of the Ways; whereas the Scythians were all Horſe, and perfectly well acquainted with the various Turnings of the Country, the two Armies miſs'd each other. By which Means the Scythians arriving at the Bridge much before the Perſians, and being inform'd the Enemy was not yet return'd, they ſpoke to the Ionians, who were on board the Ships, in theſe Terms: "Since the Number of "Days appointed for your Stay, O Ionians, is "already paſs'd, you have not done as you "ought, in continuing here: And therefore if "Fear has hitherto been the Cauſe of your De-"lay; now, take the Bridge in pieces; depart "in full Poſſeſſion of your Liberty, and give "Thanks to the Gods and to the Scythians. "As for the Man who to this Time has been "your Maſter, we will take Care to bring him "into ſuch Order, that he ſhall be no longer in "a Condition to make War againſt any Part of "Mankind." The Ionians met without Delay to conſult about the Meaſures they ſhould take in this Conjuncture; and *Miltiades* General of the Athenians, and Tyrant of the Helleſpontin Cherſoneſians, adviſ'd the Aſſembly to comply with the Demand of the Scythians, and to reſtore the Liberty of *Ionia*. But *Heſtiæus* the Mileſian, being of a contrary Opinion, repreſented, that, whereas every one there preſent was Tyrant of his own Country by the Power of *Darius*; if that ſhould be once aboliſh'd, he himſelf could no longer continue Maſter of *Miletus*, nor any of the reſt in the Places they then poſſeſs'd; becauſe the People would undoubtedly

undoubtedly chuſe to live under a popular Government, rather than under the Dominion of a ſingle Perſon. *Heſtiæus* had no ſooner deliver'd this Opinion, than they all went over to his ſide, tho' they had before aſſented to the Counſel of *Miltiades*. The Names of thoſe who differ'd from the Opinion of *Miltiades*, and had ſome Part in the Eſteem of *Darius*, were *Daphnis* Tyrant of *Abydus*; *Hippocles* of *Lampſacus*; *Erophantus* of *Pariam*; *Metrodorus* of *Proconneſus*; *Ariſtagoras* of *Cyzicus*, and *Ariſton* of *Byzantium*: All theſe were Helleſpontin Tyrants. Thoſe of *Ionia* were, *Stratias* of *Chio*; *Æacides* of *Samos*; *Laodamas* of *Phocæa*; and *Heſtiæus* of *Miletus*, whoſe Opinion was preferr'd before that of *Miltiades*. On the Part of the Æolians no other Perſon of Conſideration was preſent, except only *Ariſtagoras* of *Cyma*. When theſe Men had approv'd the Sentiment of *Heſtiæus*, they concerted in what Manner they ſhould act and ſpeak. Accordingly they reſolv'd to take away ſo much of the Bridge on the Scythian ſide, as an Arrow might reach; that they might not only ſeem to do ſomething, when in Effect they did nothing; but that they might prevent the Scythians from preventing by Force to paſs the *Iſter* over their Bridge: And whilſt they ſhould be employ'd in removing that Part, which was on the Scythian ſide, they agreed to profeſs their Readineſs to do any thing that might be acceptable to the Scythians. When they had determin'd to make this Addition to the Opinion of *Heſtiæus*, and choſen him out of all the Aſſembly to acquaint the Scythians with their Anſwer, he ſpoke to this Effect; "Men of *Scythia*, "You have given us good Advice, and ſeaſon-

"ably

" ably preſs'd us to put it in Execution: You " have pointed out the right Way, and we are " prepar'd to follow your Directions. We have " already cut off the Paſſage as you ſee, and " will finiſh the Work with all Diligence; be- " cauſe we reſolve to be Free. In the mean " time your Part is, to find out the Perſians, " and take full Revenge for the Injuries they " have done both to you and to us." The Scythians believing a ſecond Time that the Ionians were ſincere, march'd back to ſeek the Perſians; but intirely miſs'd the Ways they had taken. Of this Error the Scythians themſelves were the Cauſe, by deſtroying the Paſture for the Horſe, and choaking the Springs; which if they had not done, they might without difficulty have found the Perſians. But now, that which they thought they had contriv'd to their great advantage, prov'd the very thing that miſled them. For they ſought the Enemy in thoſe parts of the Country, where Forage and Water were to be found; imagining they would return by that Way. But the Perſians without Deflexion, repeating the March they had made before, trac'd their Way to the River under great Difficulties. They arriv'd in the Night, and not finding the Bridge, fell into the utmoſt Conſternation, ſuppoſing they were abandon'd by the Ionians. *Darius* had about his Perſon an Ægyptian, ſurpaſſing all other Men in the Strength of his Voice. This Man he commanded to ſtand on the Bank of the *Iſter*, and call *Heſtiæus* the Mileſian. Which when he had done, *Heſtiæus*, who heard him at the firſt Cry, brought all the Veſſels together, and joyn'd the Bridge immediately, that the Army might paſs.

paſs. Thus the Perſians eſcap'd, and the Scythians were a ſecond time diſappointed. On this Account they ſay, that if the Ionians are conſider'd as a free People, they are the worſt and baſeſt of Men: If as Slaves, they indeed love their Maſter, and are not inclin'd to abandon his Service. Theſe Reproaches the Scythians fling out againſt the Ionians.

DARIUS march'd by the Way of *Thrace* to *Seſtus* in the *Cherſoneſus*; and imbarking there paſs'd over into *Aſia*, after he had conſtituted *Megabyſus*, a Perſian, to be his General in *Europe*. He had already in *Perſia* expreſs'd his high Eſteem of this Man. For being one Day about to eat ſome Pomegranates, he had no ſooner open'd the firſt, than his Brother *Artabanus* aſk'd him, Of what thing he would wiſh to poſſeſs a Number equal to the Grains of that Fruit; and receiv'd for Anſwer, That he would rather chuſe ſo many Men perfectly reſembling *Megabyzus*, than the intire Conqueſt of *Greece*. Thus he honour'd this Perſian at Home; and now left him the Command of an Army conſiſting of eighty thouſand Men. *Megabyzus* render'd his own Name immortal among the Helleſpontins, by the following Expreſſion. Being inform'd, when he was at *Byzantium*, that the Chalcedonians had inhabited in that Country ſeventeen Years before the Arrival of the Byzantians; "Sure, ſaid he, the Chalcedonians were blind in thoſe Times: For if "they could have ſeen, they would never have "choſen ſo foul a Situation, when they might "have built their City in ſo beautiful a Place." In Concluſion *Megabyzus* being left in theſe Parts to command the Army of *Darius*, ſubdued

dued thoſe Nations who were not in the Intereſt of the Medes.

About the ſame Time another Army undertook an Expedition into *Libya*; the Cauſes of which I ſhall relate, and explain ſome things by way of Introduction. The Deſcendants of the Argonauts being expell'd *Lemnos* by thoſe Pelaſgians who ſeiz'd the Athenian Women at *Brauron*, ſet ſail for *Lacedæmon*, and arriving at *Taygetus*, lighted Fires; which the Lacedæmonians ſeeing, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to demand who they were, and whence they came. Their Anſwer was, that they were Minyans, Grandſons of thoſe Heroes who ſail'd in the *Argos*, and arriving in *Lemnos* begot their Fathers. When the Lacedæmonians heard they were of Minyan Extraction, they ſent another Meſſenger to enquire with what Deſign they had landed and lighted Fires in their Territories. They ſaid, that being ejected by the Pelaſgians, they might juſtly return to the Country of their Anceſtors: And therefore deſir'd to inhabit in *Laconia*, and to participate of their Honours and Lands. The Lacedæmonians receiv'd the Minyans on ſuch Terms as they deſir'd, for divers Reaſons; and eſpecially becauſe *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the Sons of *Tyndarus* had been preſent in the Expedition of the *Argos*. They allotted to every Man a certain Portion of Land, and diſtributed the whole Number among their Tribes. On the other Part, the Minyans gave the Wives they brought from *Lemnos* to other Men, and took Spartan Women in their Place. But not long after growing inſolent, they committed many Crimes, and form'd a Deſign to uſurp the Kingdom. Upon which, the

the Lacedæmonians having determin'd to puniſh them with Death, ſeiz'd and impriſon'd all the Minyans. But becauſe, by the Cuſtoms of the Country, all condemn'd Perſons are executed in the Night, and not by Day; the Wives of the Minyans, who were Daughters to the principal Perſons of *Sparta*, ask'd Leave to ſpeak with their Husbands in the Priſon before the Execution. The Lacedæmonians not ſuſpecting Fraud, granted their Requeſt; and the Women being admitted accordingly, gave their own Garments to their Husbands, and cloath'd themſelves with thoſe of the Men. Upon which the Minyans dreſs'd like Women went out of the Priſon, and fled in that Diſguiſe to *Taygetus*. At the ſame Time *Theras* the Son of *Auteſion*, and Grandſon to *Tiſamenes*, whoſe Father *Therſander* was the Son of *Polynices*, went out with a Colony from *Lacedæmon*. He was of the Cadmæan Race: Uncle, by the Mother's Side, to *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, Sons of *Ariſtodemus*, and Regent of the Kingdom during their Minority. But after they came to be of Age, and had taken the Adminiſtration of Affairs into their Hands, *Theras*, who had taſted the Pleaſure of commanding, impatient to ſee himſelf reduc'd to obey, declar'd his Reſolution to depart from *Sparta*, in order to ſettle with thoſe of his own Blood. The Iſland now call'd *Thera*, and formerly known by the Name of *Calliſta*, was then poſſeſs'd by the Poſterity of *Membliares* the Son of *Pæciles* a Phœnician. For *Cadmus*, the Son of *Agenor*, arriving there, in the Search he made after *Europa*; either pleas'd with the Beauty of the Country, or mov'd by other Reaſons, left his Kinſman

Membliares with ſome Phœnicians in that Iſland: And *Calliſta* had been in the Poſſeſſion of theſe Phœnicians eight Generations before the Departure of *Theras* from *Lacedæmon*. To this Place *Theras* went, accompanied by many Perſons drawn out of the Spartan Tribes; not with Deſign to expel the Inhabitants, but to live among them, and contribute to render the Iſland more populous. And becauſe the Lacedæmonians ſtill perſiſted in their Reſolution to deſtroy the Minyans, even after they had fled from the Priſon to *Taygetus*, he interceded for their Lives, and promis'd he would tranſport them out of that Country. Upon this Aſſurance the Lacedæmonians condeſcended to his Deſires, and *Theras* departed with his Company for *Calliſta*, in three Gallies of thirty Oars each; carrying ſome of the Minyans with him, but not many. For the greater Part had already enter'd into the Countries of the Paroreates and Caucones; where, after they had driven out the Inhabitants, they diſtributed themſelves into ſix Diviſions, and founded the Cities of *Leprium*, *Maciſtus*, *Thrixas*, *Pyrgus*, *Epium*, and *Nudium*; moſt of which have been deſtroy'd in our Time by the Eleans. *Theras* chang'd the Name of the Iſland *Calliſta*, into that of *Thera*; and to his Son, who had refus'd to accompany him in his Voyage, he ſaid at his Departure, that he would leave him as a Sheep among Wolves: From which ſaying the young Man was ever after call'd *Oiolycus*. This *Oiolycus* was the Father of *Ægeus*, from whom the Ægides, a principal Tribe in *Sparta*, derive their Name. The Men of this Tribe finding they had not the Fortune to bring up their Children, built a Temple by the Admonition

nition of the Erinnyan Oracle, dedicated to *Laius* and *Oedipus*; and poſſeſs'd afterwards by thoſe Theræans, who were deſcended from theſe Men. Thus far the Lacedæmonians and the Theræans agree: But of that Part which remains, the Theræans only are the Relaters. *Grinus*, ſay they, the Son of *Æſanius*, one of the Deſcendents of *Theras*, and King of the Iſland *Thera*, went to *Delphi* in order to ſacrifice a Hecatomb. He was attended by divers Citizens of the Place, and among them by *Battus* Son to *Polymneſtus*, of the Minyan Family of *Euphemus*: And whilſt he conſulted the Oracle concerning other Affairs, the Pythian admoniſh'd him to build a City in *Libya*. But he anſwer'd, "I am "old, and unfit for ſuch an Enterprize: There- "fore rather command one of theſe young Men "to execute that Order;" and as he ſaid theſe Words, he pointed to *Battus*. At their return they ſlighted the Oracle, becauſe they had no Knowledge of the Situation of *Libya*; nor durſt adventure to ſend a Colony upon ſo obſcure an Attempt. During ſeven Years from this Time, they had no Rain in *Thera*; and after all the Trees of the Iſland, except one, had periſh'd for want of Moiſture, the Theræans applied themſelves again to the Oracle: But the Pythian made no other Anſwer, Than that they ſhould ſend a Colony to *Libya*. Thus ſeeing no End of their Calamity, they diſpatch'd certain Perſons to *Crete*, with Orders to inquire, if any of the Cretans or other Inhabitants of that Iſland had ever been in *Libya*. Theſe Meſſengers travelling from Place to Place, arriv'd in the City of *Itanus*; where having met with one *Corobius* a Dyer in Purple, who aſſur'd them he had been driven by

the Winds to an Iſland of *Libya* call'd *Platæa*, they perſuaded him by the Promiſe of a large Recompence to go with them to *Thera*. At firſt the Theræans ſent only a ſmall Number of Men, under the Conduct of *Corobius*, to the Iſland *Platæa*: And they ſoon departed again, to give an Account of the Place to the Theræans: Leaving *Corobius* behind with Proviſions for about two Months. But theſe Men not returning within the Time appointed, *Corobius* was reduc'd to the laſt Neceſſity; when a Ship of *Samos* bound Homewards from *Ægypt*, under the Pilotage of *Colæus*, arriv'd in the Harbour; being driven thither by Streſs of Weather: And after the Samians had been inform'd by *Corobius* of all things relating to this Expedition, they left him Subſiſtence for a Year, and ſet ſail from the Iſland, wiſhing to recover the Coaſt of *Ægypt*; but on a ſudden were ſurpriz'd by a ſtrong Levant Wind; which never ceas'd, 'till they had paſs'd the Columns of *Hercules*, and arriv'd at *Tarteſſus*, puſh'd on by a moſt fortunate Compulſion. For as that Port had never been attempted before, the Profits they made of their Merchandize were ſo conſiderable, that at their Return they brought Home a greater Treaſure than any of the Grecians we know had ever done, ſince the Time of *Soſtratus* the Son of *Laodamus* of *Ægina*, who is above all Compariſon. Theſe Samians with the tenth Part of their Gain, amounting to ſix Talents, made a Baſon of Braſs, reſembling that of *Argolis*, and ſurrounded with the Heads of Griffins leaning to each other. This they plac'd in the Temple of *Juno*, ſupported by three Coloſſo's of Braſs in a kneeling Poſture, and ſeven Foot in Height.

And

And on this Occaſion, the Cyrenæans and Theræans contracted a great Friendſhip with the Samians.

When thoſe Theræans, who left *Corobius* in *Platæa*, were return'd Home, with an Account, that they had taken Poſſeſſion of an Iſland in *Libya*, the Theræans reſolv'd to ſend a Colony thither, compos'd of Men drawn out of all their Diſtricts, which were ſeven in Number; and that every Brother ſhould caſt Lots with his Brother to determine who ſhould go; appointing *Battus* to be their King and Leader, and commanding two Gallies of fifty Oars to be made ready for their Tranſportation. Theſe things are reported by the Theræans only: For what remains, we have the concurring Teſtimony of the Cyrenæans; tho' they differ from the Theræans in the Account of *Battus*, and relate the Matter thus. *Etearchus*, ſay they, King of *Oaxus* a City of *Crete*, after the Death of his firſt Wife, married another Woman; who reſolving to be effectually a Stepmother to his Daughter, whoſe Name was *Phronima*, treated her in the moſt injurious Manner; and beſides an infinite Number of other wicked Contrivances, accus'd her at laſt of Unchaſtity; and prevail'd with her Husband to believe the Calumny. *Etearchus* perſuaded by his Wife, form'd a wicked Deſign againſt his Daugther, and ſending for one *Themiſon* a Merchant of *Thera*, who, he knew, was then at *Oaxus*, receiv'd him kindly, and compell'd him to take an Oath to ſerve him in any thing he ſhould deſire. When he had done this, he deliver'd his Daughter to the Merchant, and commanded him to

drown her in the Sea during his Voyage. *Themiſon* diſturb'd that he had been induc'd to ſwear raſhly, and yet unwilling to break their mutual Hoſpitality, reſolv'd to act in this Manner. He receiv'd the King's Daughter, and ſet ſail. But after he was out at Sea, that he might comply with the Obligation of his Oath, he let her down into the Water with Cords tied about her; and after he had drawn her up again, purſued his Voyage to *Thera*. *Polymneſtus*, an eminent Man in that Iſland, took *Phronima* for his Concubine, and after ſome Time had a Son by her, who from his ſhrill and ſtammering Voice was nam'd *Battus*, as the Theræans and Cyrenæans ſay: But I am of Opinion he had another Name; and receiv'd that of *Battus* after his Arrival in *Libya*, purſuant to the Anſwer of the Delphian Oracle, and on Account of the Honour conferr'd upon him. For the Libyans call a King *Battus*; and therefore I conjecture that the Pythian Propheteſs foreſeeing he ſhould be a King in *Libya*, gave him that Title in the Libyan Language; having return'd this Anſwer, when, being grown a Man, he came to conſult the Oracle concerning his Speech,

BATTUS! *about thy Voice inquire no more;*
Apollo *ſends thee to the Libyan Shore*
In Wool abounding.

As if ſhe had ſaid in the Language of *Greece*, *O King, about thy Voice. Battus* anſwer'd, "I came "to conſult the Oracle about my Voice, and the "God requires things impoſſible; commanding "me to go to *Libya*. I deſire to know, with "what

" what Power, and with what Numbers?" But when nothing could perſuade the Pythian to give any other Anſwer, and *Battus* found ſhe repeated the ſame Words again, he left the Oracle, and return'd to *Thera*. From that Time both he and the Theræans felt the Revenge of the Pythian: And the People not knowing whence their Misfortunes came, ſent again to *Delphi* to enquire concerning the Cauſe, and receiv'd for Anſwer; " That their Affairs ſhould " proſper better, if, under the Conduct of *Bat-* " *tus*, they would build a City in *Libya*, by the " Name of *Cyrene*." Upon this Admonition the Theræans made ready two Gallies of fifty Oars each, and *Battus* with his Company imbarking, ſet ſail for *Libya*: But not being able to perform their Voyage, they return'd Home: Where the Theræans having refus'd to receive them, or ſuffer the Men to land, commanded them to reſume the Expedition. Thus compell'd by Neceſſity they ſail'd again, and ſettled in an Iſland of *Libya*; call'd, as I ſaid before, *Platæa*, and reported to be of equal Extent with the Territories now poſſeſs'd by the Cyrenæans. After they had been two Years in this Place, and found their Condition no way amended; leaving one of their Company behind, the reſt ſail'd to *Delphi*; and having remonſtrated to the Oracle, that tho' they had ſettled in *Libya*, yet the State of their Affairs ſtill continued the ſame, they had the following Anſwer from the Pythian;

Strange! You ſhould know wool-bearing Libya's *Coaſt*
Better than I: You, who were never there.

When *Battus* and his Companions heard this, and found they muſt return to *Libya*, becauſe the God would by no Means permit them to abandon their Enterprize, they departed, and arriving again in the Iſland of *Platæa*, took on board the Man they had left there, and went to inhabit a Country of *Libya*, ſituate over againſt an Iſland call'd *Aziriſtus* ſurrounded with agreeable Hills, and water'd by two Rivers running on each ſide. Six Years they continued in this Region, and in the ſeventh reſolv'd to leave it, by the Perſuaſion of the Libyans, who ſaid they wou'd ſhew them a better Place. In effect, the Libyans conducted them Weſtward into the moſt beautiful Country imaginable; and having computed the Hours of the Day, brought the Grecians thither by Night, that they might not obſerve the Way. The Region is call'd by the Name of *Iraſa:* And when the Libyans had ſhewn them a Fountain, accounted ſacred to *Apollo*; "Grecians, ſaid they, "Here you may inhabit moſt conveniently; "and the Heavens ſeem to invite you". Accordingly the Cyrenæans, fix'd their Habitations in this Place, and continued to be about the ſame Number as at their Arrival, during all the Time of *Battus*, who reign'd forty Years, and that of his Son *Arceſilaus*, who reign'd ſixteen. But under the Reign of another *Battus*, their third King, ſirnamed the *Happy*, the Pythian encourag'd all Grecians to undertake the Voyage of *Libya*, and joyn with the Cyrenæans, who invited them to an equal Diviſion of the Country. The Words of the Oracle were theſe,

Regret

Regret attends the Man, who comes too late,
To ſhare the lovely Libya's *fertil Plains.*

By theſe Means a great Multitude met together at *Cyrene*; and after they had divided a vaſt Extent of Land among themſelves, the Libyans with their King, whoſe Name was *Adicrau*, finding they were depriv'd of their Poſſeſſions, and injuriouſly treated, ſent an Embaſſy to *Ægypt* with a Tender of their Submiſſion to *Apries* King of that Country; who aſſembling a numerous Army of Ægyptians, ſent them to attack *Cyrene*. But the Cyrenæans having drawn out their Forces to the Fountain *Theſtis* in *Iraſa*, fought and defeated the Ægyptians, who to that time had been unacquainted with the Grecian Valour, and therefore deſpis'd their Power. The Victory was ſo great, that few of the Ægyptians return'd Home: And the ill Succeſs of this Expedition caus'd ſuch Diſcontent amongſt that People, that they revolted againſt *Apries*.

ARCESILAUS the Son of *Battus*, ſucceeded him: And in the Beginning of his Reign had ſo many Conteſts with his Brothers, that they left the Kingdom; and arriving in another Part of *Libya*, founded the City of *Barca*, which bears the ſame Name to this Day; and whilſt they were ſettling their new Colony, perſuaded the Libyans to revolt. But *Arceſilaus* led an Army, not only againſt the revolted Libyans, but alſo againſt thoſe who had given Reception to his Brothers; which put them into ſuch a Conſternation, that they fled to the Eaſtern Parts of *Libya*. *Arceſilaus* purſued them till he arriv'd at *Leucon*:

Leucon: And there the Libyans having reſolv'd to attack him, fought the Cyrenæans ſucceſsfully, and kill'd ſeven thouſand Men upon the Spot. After this Diſaſter *Arceſilaus* fell ſick, and taking a Medicinal Draught, was ſtrangled by his Brother *Aliarchus*. But his Wife, whoſe Name was *Eryxo*, reveng'd his Death, and kill'd *Aliarchus* by an Artifice of her own Contrivance. *Battus* the Son of this *Arceſilaus*; a lame Man, and unable to walk, ſucceeding him in the Kingdom, the Cyrenæans who had receiv'd ſo great a Blow, ſent to enquire of the Delphian Oracle, under what Form of Government they might live moſt happily; and the Pythian in Anſwer commanded them to ſend for a Legiſlator from *Mantinea* a City of *Arcadia*. The Cyrenæans did as they were inſtructed, and the Mantineans choſe a Man for that purpoſe, highly eſteemed in their Country, and known by the Name of *Demonax*. This Perſon arriv'd in *Cyrene*; and after he had fully inform'd himſelf of their Affairs, divided the People into three Tribes. The firſt conſiſted of the Theræans and their Neighbours; the ſecond of Peloponneſians and Cretans; and a third contain'd all the reſt of the Iſlanders. He took away the Temples and ſacred Offices of *Battus*; together with all other things, which had been peculiar to their Kings, and put them into the Hands of the People. Theſe Regulations were exactly obſerv'd during the Reign of *Battus:* But in the Time of his Son *Arceſilaus* great Diſorders aroſe about thoſe Honours. For *Arceſilaus* the Son of the lame *Battus* and *Pheretima*, declaring he would not ſubmit to the Conſtitutions of *Demonax*, challeng'd all the Prerogatives his Anceſtors had

had enjoy'd; and having rais'd a Tumult on that Occaſion, he was defeated, and fled to *Samos*. His Mother eſcap'd to *Salamis* a City of *Cyprus*, then in the Poſſeſſion of that *Euelthon*, who dedicated the curious Thurible at *Delphi*, which is depoſited in the Treaſury of the Corinthians. *Pheretima* after her Arrival, deſir'd *Euelthon* to aſſiſt her with an Army in order to re-eſtabliſh her Family in *Cyrene:* But he choſe rather to preſent her with all other things, than to grant her the Forces ſhe demanded. Yet ſhe accepted his Preſents; and admiring their Beauty, always added, that tho' theſe were very valuable, an Army would be far more acceptable to her. In the end *Euelthon* gave her a golden Reel, and a Diſtaff of the ſame Metal, cover'd with Wool; and finding ſhe repeated her Acknowledgment in the ſame Terms, he told her, theſe were the moſt proper Preſents for Women, and not Armies.

In the mean Time *Arceſilaus* continued at *Samos*, ſoliciting all Men to joyn with him by Promiſes of an Agrarian Diviſion; and having by that Means collected a numerous Army, he ſail'd to *Delphi*, in order to conſult the Oracle concerning his Reſtoration, and had the following Anſwer from the Pythian. "*Apollo* grants you the "Dominion of *Cyrene* during eight Deſcents, "down to the fourth *Battus*, and the fourth *Ar-*"*ceſilaus*; and exhorts you to aim at no more. "Be contented therefore to live peaceably at "Home: And if you find a Furnace full of "Pitchers, throw them out unburnt: But if you "ſet fire to the Kiln, forbear to enter into a "Place bounded with Water on each ſide. Un-"leſs you obſerve this, you ſhall certainly

" periſh with the beautiful Bull." *Arceſilaus* having receiv'd the Anſwer of the Pythian, took with him the Forces he had collected in *Samos*; and returning to *Cyrene*, recover'd the Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But forgetting the Counſel of the Oracle, he brought thoſe who had ejected him to a Tryal, and charg'd them with the Guilt of his Expulſion: So that many were compell'd to abandon their Country; whilſt others falling into their Hands, were ſent to be executed in *Cyprus*. But theſe arriving in the Port of *Cnidus*, were reſcued by the People, and ſent away ſafe to *Thera*. In the mean Time *Arceſilaus* being inform'd that another Party had retir'd to a Tower belonging to *Aglomachus*, he ſurrounded the Place with Wood, and conſum'd all thoſe who were within. Which he had no ſooner done, than he underſtood the Meaning of the Oracle's Command, *Not to burn the Veſſels he ſhould find in the Kiln*; and in that Perſuaſion voluntarily departed from *Cyrene*, under violent Apprehenſions of his own Death, predicted by the Pythian; who, as he thought, could mean no other Place, becauſe *Cyrene* is ſituate between two Rivers. He had a Wife related to him in Blood; and becauſe ſhe was Daughter to *Alazar* King of the Barcæans, he retir'd to *Barca*: Where ſome of the Inhabitants, in Conjunction with others of the exil'd Cyrenæans, being one Day inform'd that he was walking in the Publick Place, kill'd both him and his Father-in-law. Thus *Arceſilaus* diſobeying the Oracle, whether wilfully or otherwiſe, accompliſh'd his own Deſtiny. His Mother *Pheretima*, whilſt he was haſtening to Deſtruction in *Barca*, continued at *Cyrene*, and enjoy'd all the

Honours he had poſſeſs'd; exerciſing the ſame Functions, and preſiding in the Council: But when ſhe heard the Manner of his Death, ſhe fled to *Ægypt*; becauſe her Son *Arceſilaus* had deſerv'd well of *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus*, by putting *Cyrene* into his Protection, and ſettling a Tribute to be paid for an Acknowledgment of their Submiſſion. Arriving in *Ægypt*, and applying herſelf to *Aryandes* in the Form of a Suppliant, ſhe beſought him to revenge the Death of her Son, who ſhe pretended, had been kill'd becauſe he was a Partizan of the Medes. *Aryandes* had been conſtituted Governour of *Ægypt* under *Cambyſes*, and in ſucceeding Time was put to death by *Darius* for attempting to emulate one of his Actions. He had ſeen that *Darius* exceedingly deſir'd to leave ſuch a Monument of himſelf as no King had done before; and reſolving to imitate the Example, he receiv'd the Reward of his Preſumption. For after *Darius* had coin'd Pieces of Gold, refin'd to the utmoſt Perfection; *Aryandes* Governour of *Ægypt*, caus'd the ſame to be imitated in the pureſt Silver; and this Aryandian Money is in high Eſteem to this Day. But when *Darius* knew what he had done, he charg'd him with a Deſign to rebel, and under that Colour put him to death. This *Aryandes* in Compaſſion to *Pheretima*, aſſiſted her with all the Forces of *Ægypt* both by Land and Sea; appointing *Amaſis*, one of the Maraphian Blood, to lead the Land Army, and *Badres* of Paſſargadian Extraction to command the Fleet. But before he gave Orders for the Departure of theſe Forces, he ſent a Herald to *Barca*, to demand who they were that had aſſaſſinated *Arceſilaus*. The Barcæans

cæans readily acknowledg'd the Action to be their own, in Requital of the many Evils they had ſuffer'd by him: And when *Aryandes* receiv-ed their Anſwer, he cauſed the Army to march away with *Pheretima*. This was the Pretext of the War. But in my Opinion he ſent theſe Forces to conquer the Libyans. For of the Li-byan Nations which are many and differing in their Cuſtoms, few were ſubject to *Darius*, and the far greater Part deſpis'd his Power. To begin with thoſe who inhabit next to the Æ-gyptians: The Adrymachides are the firſt Peo-ple we find; and for the moſt Part obſerve the Uſages of *Ægypt:* Only they cloath in the Li-byan Habit. Their Wives wear a Chain of Braſs on each Leg; dreſs in their Hair, and if they happen to find a Louſe, kill it with their Teeth, in Revenge of the Bite they receiv'd; and then ſpit it out again. In the Obſervation of one Cuſtom they are ſingular; being the only People of all *Libya*, who bring their Vir-gins before Marriage into the King's Preſence, that if he like any one above the reſt, he may lye with her. This Country extends from the Borders of *Ægypt* to the Port of *Plynus*. Weſtward of this Nation the Gigames are ſeat-ed, and poſſeſs the Country down to the Iſland *Aphrodiſia*. In the midſt of their Coaſt the Iſland of *Platæa* is ſituate, which was inhabited by the Cyrenæans; and the Lake of *Menelas*, with the City of *Aziris*, built likewiſe by the ſame People, are on the Continent. At this Place the Territories of *Silphium* begin, and ex-tend from that Iſland of *Platæa* to the Chops of the *Syrtis*. This People in their Cuſtoms re-ſemble the reſt of the Libyans. The Aſbyſtes

are

are next adjoyning to the Gigames, and inhabit a Country lying to the Weſtward above *Cyrene*. They poſſeſs no Part of the Coaſt; becauſe the Cyrenæans are Maſters of all the maritime Places. They are no leſs, but rather more experienc'd than the reſt of the Libyans in mounting their Chariots; and for the moſt Part endeavour to imitate the Manners of the Cyrenæans. The Auſchiſes are ſeated to the Weſtward of the Aſbyſtes, in a Region ſituate above *Barca*, and extending to the Sea by the Country of *Eueſperides*. In the midſt of the Auſchiſes, the Cabales inhabit a ſmall Territory, reaching to *Tauchira* a maritim City of *Barca*. Both theſe obſerve the ſame Cuſtoms with thoſe who dwell above *Cyrene*. The next Country to the Weſtward of the Auſchiſes is poſſeſs'd by the Naſamones, a very numerous People. In Summer they leave their Cattle on the Coaſt, and go up to the Plains of *Ægyla*, in order to gather the Fruit of the Palm-trees; which abound in that Place, and are all Bearers without Exception. There they take Graſs-hoppers, which having dried in the Sun they grind, and infuſing them in Milk, compoſe a Liquor for their Drink. Every Man by the Cuſtom of the Country has divers Wives; which he uſes, like the Maſſagetes, in publick, after he has ſet up his Staff for a Mark: And when they marry, the Bride goes the firſt Night to all the invited Gueſts; and after they have lain with her, they make her a Preſent, which every one brings from Home to that end. In their ſolemn Oaths and Divinations they obſerve the following Manner. When they ſwear, they lay their Hands on the Sepulchres of thoſe, who are generally eſteem'd

eſteem'd to have been the moſt juſt and excellent Perſons among them. And when they would divine, they go to the Tombs of their Anceſtors, and after certain Prayers, they lye down to ſleep; and ground their Predictions upon the Dreams they have at thoſe Times. In pledging their Faith to each other, they mutually preſent a Cup of Liquor; and if they have none, the Parties take up ſome Duſt from the Ground, which they put into their Mouths. The Pſyllians are the next adjacent People to the Naſamones, and were deſtroy'd in this Manner. All their Country lying within the *Syrtis*, is deſtitute of Springs; and when the South-Wind had dried up all their Reſerves of Water, they conſulted together, and determin'd to make War againſt that Wind (I only repeat what the Libyans ſay;) and after they were arriv'd at the Sands, the South-Wind blowing hard buried them alive, and the Naſamones took Poſſeſſion of their Habitations, The Country that lies above the Naſamones is inhabited by the Garamantees, who avoid the Sight and Society of all other Men; poſſeſſing no military Weapon, nor daring to defend themſelves. But in the maritim Places ſituate to the Weſtward they have the Maces for their Neighbours, who ſhave their Heads quite round; only leaving a Lock of Hair growing in the middle of the Crown: And when they make War, they wear the Skin of Oſtriches inſtead of Armour. The River *Cinyps* runs thro' their Country; riſing in an Eminence call'd the Hill of the *Graces*; which is cover'd with Trees (tho' all the other Parts I have mention'd are naked) and diſtant two hundred Stades from the Sea.

Next

Next in Situation are the Gindanes, whoſe Wives the Libyans ſay, wear as many Borders on their Coats as they have had Men: And ſhe who has the moſt of thoſe Borders, is moſt eſteem'd becauſe ſhe has had the greateſt Number of Lovers. The Promontory that advances from this Country to the Sea, is poſſeſs'd by the Lotophages, who live altogether upon the Fruit of the Lotus, which is of equal Bigneſs of that of the Lentiſcus; but exceedingly ſweet like the Date. The Inhabitants make Wine of this Fruit. Next adjoyning to the Lotophages, are the Machlyes, on that ſide which deſcends to the Sea. They eat the Fruit of the Lotos: But ſubſiſt not wholly upon it, like thoſe I mention'd before. The *Triton*, a conſiderable River, runs along the Borders of this Country, and falls into the great Lake *Tritonis*; where the Iſland of *Phlia* is ſituate; to which the Lacedæmonians were admoniſh'd by an Oracle to ſend a Colony, on this Occaſion. When *Jaſon* had built the *Argos* at the Foot of Mount *Pelion*, and put a Hecatomb on board, with a Tripos of Braſs, he ſail'd round the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, in order to go to *Delphi*: But endeavouring to double the Cape of *Malea*, he was ſurpriz'd by a violent Storm blowing from the North, and driven to the Coaſt of *Libya*: Where, before he could diſcern the Shore, he found his Ship engag'd in the Sands of the Lake *Tritonis*. In this Perplexity, they ſay, a Triton appearing to *Jaſon*, promis'd to bring the Ship off, and ſend her away ſafe, if he would preſent him with the Tripos. *Jaſon* accepted the Condition; and the Triton, after he had ſhewn him a Paſſage out of the Shelves, plac'd the Tripos in his own

Temple: Which he had no ſooner done, than he deliver'd an Oracle from thence; declaring to *Jaſon* and his Companions, That when any of the Deſcendents of thoſe who were on board the *Argos*, ſhould be poſſeſs'd of that Tripos, Fate had determin'd that the Grecians ſhould eſtabliſh a hundred Colonies about the Lake of *Tritonis:* And when the neighbouring Nations of *Libya* were inform'd of this Prediction, they took care to conceal the Tripos. Next to theſe is the Seat of the Auſes; whoſe Territories, together with thoſe of the Machlyes, encompaſs the whole Lake of *Tritonis*, and are ſeparated by the River *Triton*. They let their Hair grow on the fore Part of their Head, and the Machlyes behind. The Auſes celebrate an Annual Feſtival to *Minerva*; in which the Virgins dividing themſelves into two Companies, engage in a Combat with Sticks and Stones. This, they ſay, is done, purſuant to ancient Cuſtom, in Honour of a National Goddeſs call'd *Minerva*; and maintain that all thoſe who dye of the Wounds they receive in theſe Combats, were not Virgins. But before they depart out of the Field, they take the Virgin, who by common Conſent has behav'd herſelf moſt valiantly; and having dreſs'd her in a Corinthian Helmet, and a whole Suit of Grecian Armour, they place her in a Chariot, and conduct her in Triumph round the Lake. What kind of Arms theſe Virgins us'd before the Grecians came to inhabit in thoſe Parts, I cannot affirm; but I conjecture they were ſuch as the Ægyptians uſe: And I am of Opinion, that the Shield and Helmet were brought from *Ægypt* into *Greece*. They ſay, *Minerva* was born of

of *Neptune* and the Lake *Tritonis*; and that being diſcontented with her Father on ſome Occaſion, ſhe gave herſelf to *Jupiter*, who made her his Daughter by Adoption. The Men of this Country have no Wives appropriated to particular Perſons; but accompany with all Women indifferently, after the Manner of other Animals: And when a Boy has been educated by his Mother to a convenient Age, he is admitted into an Aſſembly of the Men, which is held every three Months to that purpoſe; and the Man he applies himſelf chiefly to, is reputed his Father. This Nation inhabits the maritim Parts, below the Libyan Nomades: And above theſe, aſcending farther within the Land, lies a Region frequented only by wild Beaſts; beyond which is a Ridge of Sands, ſtretching from the *Ægyptian Thebes* to the Columns of *Hercules*. After a Journey of about ten Days within this Space, Rocks of Salt are found, riſing like Pillars, and ſpouting out a cool and pleaſant Water from the Top of each. Thoſe who inhabit the Parts adjacent to theſe Springs, are the laſt of all the Libyans on this ſide the Deſarts, and beyond the Beaſts of Prey. Ten Days Journey from *Thebes*, the Territories of the Ammonians begin, who have a Temple reſembling that of the *Theban Jupiter*. For, as I ſaid before, the Image of *Jupiter*, which is plac'd in the Temple of *Thebes*, has the Head of a Ram. They have likewiſe a Fountain, which in the Morning is tepid; and growing cool during the Hours of walking abroad, becomes very cold about Noon, and is then us'd in watering their Gardens. As the Day declines, this Cold gradually diminiſhes, till about the Set-

ting of the Sun the Water becomes tepid again, and continuing to increaſe in Heat, boils at Midnight like a Tide, and from that Time to the Morning cools by degrees. This Fountain is call'd, *The Fountain of the Sun.* At the End of about ten Days more, Men arrive by a ſandy Way at another Pillar of Salt, like thoſe of the Ammonians; ſpouting out Water in the ſame Manner, and ſurrounded with Habitations. The Region goes by the Name of *Ægila*; and is frequented by the Naſamones on Account of the Dates. Ten Days more bring a Man to another Pillar of Salt, with an Eruption of Water and Palm-trees covering the adjacent Lands, as in the Places abovemention'd. This Country is inhabited by a populous Nation; known by the Name of the Garamantes, who, after they have laid freſh Earth upon the Salt, ſow their Corn in that Ground. From theſe to the Lotophages the Way is ſhort: But from the Lotophages to that Region where the Oxen go backward, is as far as a Man can walk in thirty Days. The Horns of theſe Animals ſhoot directly forward; and compel them to draw back as they feed. For they could not poſſibly go forward; becauſe their Horns muſt ſtick in the Ground. In every thing elſe they are like other Oxen; except only that their Hide is harder and thicker. Theſe Garamantes are accuſtom'd to ſit in Chariots, and hunt the Æthiopian Troglodytes; who are reported to be ſwifter of Foot than any other Nation in the World. They feed upon Serpents, and Lizards, with many other Kinds of Reptils; and their Speech reſembles the ſhreeking of a Bat, rather than the Language of Men.

At the Diſtance of about ten Days Journey from the Garamantes, is ſeen another Mound of Salt, with a Fountain iſſuing out of the Summit. The adjacent Parts are inhabited by the Atlantes, who are the only People, we know deſtitute of a particular Name. For that of Atlantes is the common Appellation of all the Libyans in Conjunction, and not given to any diſtinct Nation, this only excepted. This People curſe the Sun as it paſſes over their Heads; purſuing him with the vileſt Reproaches; becauſe he conſumes both the Men and the Country with his ſcorching Heat. After a Journey of ten Days more, another Hill of Salt appears, with a Spring like the former, and Habitations of Men in the adjoyning Region. In the Neighbourhood of this Place Mount *Atlas* is ſituate; circular in Form, and ſlender in Circumference; but of ſo great a Height, that his Head is always inviſible, being ever ſurrounded with Clouds, both in Summer and Winter; and therefore by the Inhabitants call'd *The Pillar of Heaven.* From hence theſe Men derive their Name, and are call'd Atlantes. They neither eat the Fleſh of any Animal, nor are ever interrupted in their Sleep by Dreams. Thus far I have been able to ſet down the Names of thoſe Nations that inhabit this Ridge of Sands; but cannot proceed farther; tho' they reach beyond the Columns of *Hercules.* Within that Space, Mines of Salt are found, branching out in Veins, ſo far as a Man may travel in ten Days; and thoſe Parts are inhabited by Men, who build their Houſes with Lumps of this Salt. In theſe Parts of *Libya* no Rain falls; for Walls of Salt could not ſtand long, if any Rain ſhould fall

there. The Salt which is dug out of theſe Mines is of two Colours, White and Purple. All above this Ridge, tending to the South, and midland Parts of *Libya*, is utterly deſart; without Spring or Beaſt, Wood, Rain, or any kind of Moiſture. From *Ægypt* to the Lake *Tritonis*, the Libyans are Breeders of Cattle; eat Fleſh, and drink Milk; but abſtain from the Fleſh of Cows, no leſs than the Ægyptians, and will not keep Swine. Nay, among the Women of *Cyrene*, to ſtrike a Cow is accounted a Crime; becauſe they celebrate the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Ægyptian *Iſis*: Neither will the Barcæan Women taſte the Fleſh either of a Hog, or of a Cow. And this is the State of things in thoſe Parts.

The Libyans who inhabit to the Weſtward of the Lake *Tritonis*, are not Keepers of Cattle, and differ from the Cuſtoms of thoſe that are; one eſpecially relating to Children. For many of thoſe who live upon Paſturage, tho' I cannot affirm the ſame of all, are accuſtom'd, when their Children attain to the Age of four Years, to cauteriſe their Veins, either on the Crown or Temples, with an Application of Sheep's-Wool in the Greaſe: To the End that, during all the Time of their Lives, they may never be offended by pituitous Defluxions from the Head. This, they ſay, is the Cauſe of the perfect Health they enjoy: And indeed the Libyans of all the Nations we know, are the moſt healthy; but whether from this or any other Cauſe, I ſhall not determine. If any of their Children faint under the Operation, they recover again by a ſprinkling of Goats Urine; which is a Remedy of their own Invention. Theſe things I repeat after the Libyans. In their Sacrifices, theſe

theſe Libyan Nomades uſe the following Ceremonies. They cut off the Ear of the Victim; which they throw over the Top of the Building, as the Firſt-fruits: And after that, they turn the Head of the Animal from them. They ſacrifice to no other Deities than the Sun and Moon, which are univerſally worſhipp'd by all the Libyans. But thoſe who inhabit about the Lake *Tritonis*, ſacrifice alſo to *Triton* and *Neptune*; and principally to *Minerva*. From theſe the Grecians receiv'd the Apparel and Buckler of *Minerva*'s Images: Except only, that in *Libya* her Habit is made of Skins, and the Fringes that hang below the Buckler, are Thongs of Leather, and not Serpents. In all other things the Reſemblance is perfect: And even the Name teſtifies that the Stole of the *Palladion* came from *Libya*. For the Libyan Women wear a Mantle of tann'd Goat-ſkins, dyed in Red and fring'd, over the reſt of their Garments. From theſe Skins the Grecians gave the Name of *Ægis* to *Minerva*'s Shield: And I am inclin'd to think that the Songs of Lamentation, which are ſung in Temples, had the ſame Original; becauſe they are commonly us'd by the Women of *Libya*, and gracefully perform'd. The Grecians likewiſe learn'd from the Libyans, the manner of guiding their Chariots with four Horſes rang'd in Front. All the Nomades interr the Dead like the Grecians; except the Naſamones; who obſerve the Time when the ſick Perſon is ready to expire, and then place him in a ſitting Poſture, that he may not dye with his Face upward. Their Houſes are made of Shrubs compacted with Ruſhes, and portable. Such are the Cuſtoms of theſe People.

THE Weſt ſide of the River *Triton* is inhabited by the Libyan Auſes; who being Huſbandmen, and accuſtom'd to live in Houſes, are call'd Maxyes. They wear long Hair on the right ſide of the Head, and ſhave the left. They paint the Body with Vermilion, and pretend to be of Trojan Extraction. Their Country, with all the reſt of the weſtern Parts of *Libya* abounds more in Woods and wild Beaſts, than thoſe of the Nomades. For the Regions of *Libya* that lye to the Eaſtward, and are inhabited by Herdſmen, are low and ſandy, as far as the River *Triton:* Whereas thoſe that are poſſeſs'd by Huſbandmen, and ſituate beyond that River, to the Weſtward, are mountainous; abounding in Woods, and Beaſts of Prey. Serpents of incredible Bigneſs are ſeen in this Country; with Lyons, Elephants, Bears, Aſpics, and Aſſes arm'd with Horns. The Cynocephalus, which, as the Libyans ſay, has Eyes plac'd on his Breaſt; together with Savages, both Men and Women; and many other ſtrange Animals; are likewiſe frequent in thoſe Parts. None of theſe things are ſeen among the Nomades: But in Recompence, they have Eagles with a white Tail; Buffaloes; ſmall Deer; and Aſſes that never drink. They have likewiſe the Orys; which is a wild Beaſt, equal in Bigneſs to a Cow: And from the Horns of this Animal the Phœnicians took the Meaſure of their Cubit. There is alſo the Baſſaria; the Hyæna; the Porcupine; the wild Ram; the Dictys; the Thois; the Panther; the Borys; and Land-Crocodiles of about three Cubits in Length, reſembling the Lizard in Shape; together with a ſort of Oſtrich that burrows in the Earth, and a ſmall Serpent

Serpent with one Horn. Theſe, and all Kinds of Animals that live in other Countries, except the Stag and the wild Boar, abound in the Regions of the Nomades. But neither of thoſe two are ever ſeen in any Part of *Lybia*. They have three ſorts of Rats; ſome of which are call'd by the Name of Dipodes, or two-footed; ſome by that of Zegeries, or Mountain-Rats, as the Lybian Word ſounds in the Grecian Language; and others are nam'd Echines. There are alſo Weeſels in the Territories of *Silphium*, perfectly like thoſe of *Tarteſſus*. So many are the wild Beaſts produc'd in the Countries of the Lybian Nomades; according to the beſt Information I could attain by the ſtricteſt and moſt diligent Inquiry. Next adjoyning to the Maxyes, the Zaveces are ſituate, whoſe Wives drive their Chariots in War: And after them the Country of the Zygantes, where abundance of Honey is made by Bees; and they ſay, a much greater Quantity by the Artifice of Men. All theſe paint themſelves with Vermilion, and eat Monkies, which are bred there in great Numbers, eſpecially in the Hills. The Carthaginians ſay, that an Iſland call'd *Cyranis* lies at a ſmall Diſtance from this Shore; inconſiderable in Breadth, but comprehending two hundred Stades in Length; of eaſy Acceſs from the Continent, and abounding in Olive-trees and Vines. They add, that there is a Lake in this Iſland, out of which the Virgins of the Country take up with Feathers a pitchy Subſtance intermix'd with Sprigs of Gold. I cannot affirm the Fact to be true; but I write no more than they ſay. Yet 'tis not impoſſible. For I have ſeen Pitch drawn up out of a Lake

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in the Iſland of *Zacynthus*; which contains ſeveral Lakes: The largeſt of which is a Square of ſeventy Foot on every ſide, and of two Fathom in Depth. They let down a Pole into this Lake, with a Myrtle faſten'd to the End, and draw out Pitch hanging about the Myrtle, of a Bituminous Scent, and better than that of *Pieria*. This they put into a Pit prepar'd to that purpoſe near the Lake; and when they have collected a great Quantity, they pour it off into Veſſels. All that falls into the Water, paſſes under Ground, and appears again upon the Surface of the Sea, which is about four Stades diſtant from the Lake. Theſe things being ſo, the Account given of the Libyan Lake may not ſeem improbable. The Carthaginians farther ſay, that beyond the Columns of *Herçules* there is a Region of *Libya* well inhabited; where when they arrive, they unload their Merchandize on the Shore, and returning again to their Ships, make great Fires: That the Inhabitants ſeeing the Smoak, come down to the Coaſt, and leaving Gold in Exchange for the Goods, depart again to ſome diſtance from the Place: That the Carthaginians at the ſame Time going aſhore, view the Gold; and if the Quantity ſeem ſufficient for the Goods, they take it up and ſail away; but if they are not contented, they return to their Ships and continue there: That the Libyans upon this come again, and lay down more Gold to the former, 'till they have ſatisfied the Merchants: That no Wrong is done on either part, the Carthaginians never touching the Gold, before they acquieſce in the Price; nor the Inhabitants the Merchandize, before the Gold is taken away. And thus I have

have nam'd all the People of *Libya* I can: The greater Part of which have had little Regard to the King of the Medes, either at that Time or ſince. But I muſt add, that this Country is inhabited by four ſeveral Sorts of People, and no more, that we know. Two of theſe are Original Inhabitants, and the other two are Strangers. Of the firſt Sort are the Libyans and Æthiopians; of the other, the Phœnicians and Grecians. Nevertheleſs in my Opinion *Libya* is not comparable to *Aſia* or *Europe* in Fertility, except in the Territories of *Cinyps*, which lies upon a River of the ſame Name, and is equal to any other Land in the Production of Corn, and altogether unlike the reſt of *Libya*. For the Soil is black, and well water'd with Springs; ſecure from immoderate Dryneſs; and never hurt by exceſſive wet; tho' ſome Rain falls in that Region. Theſe Lands produce as great a Meaſure of Plenty as thoſe about *Babylon*. The Country of the Eueſperides is likewiſe fruitful; yielding in a very plentiful Year a hundred for one; but that of *Cinyps* about three hundred. The Territories of *Cyrene* are in Situation higher than any other Part of the Country that belongs to the Libyan Nomades, and contain three Regions worthy of Admiration. For no ſooner is the Harveſt of the maritim Places laid up, and Vintage over, than the Fruits of the ſecond Region, which they call the Hills, attain to maturity: And whilſt they are carried off, thoſe of the higheſt Part become ripe. So that during the Time they eat and drink the firſt Productions, the next Crop is perfectly ready. Thus the Cyrenæans are eight Months employ'd in a continued Succeſſion of Harveſts;

and this may be ſufficient to ſay concerning theſe things.

The Perſians who were ſent by *Aryandes* from *Ægypt* to revenge the Quarrel of *Pheretima*, arriving before *Barca* laid Siege to the City, and by a Herald demanded thoſe Perſons who had been concern'd in the Death of *Arceſilaus*: But the Inhabitants having univerſally conſented to the Fact, refus'd to hearken to the Meſſage. And after the Beſiegers had been about nine Months before the Place, carrying on divers Mines towards the Walls, and uſing battering Engines of War; an Artificer in Braſs diſcover'd their Saps in this Manner. He carried a Shield of that Metal round the City within the Wall, and applying it to the Ground, heard no Noiſe where the Earth was ſolid: But when he came to the Parts that were undermin'd, the Braſs rung. Upon which diſcovery ſome of the Barcæans fell to countermining, and kill'd all the Perſians who were employ'd in the Mines. Whilſt others diſmounted their Engines. Much Time had been ſpent in the Siege; many of the Barcæans kill'd, and the Loſs of the Perſians no leſs conſiderable; when *Amaſis* General of the Army, finding he could not ſucceed by Force, reſolv'd to reduce the City by Fraud; and to that End contriv'd this Stratagem. He open'd a broad Trench in the Night, which he cover'd with ſlight Planks of Wood; and by ſpreading a Surface of Earth upon the Timber, rendred that Part equal to the adjoyning Ground. Early the next Morning he demanded a Conference with the Barcæans; which they readily accepted, becauſe they were deſirous to come to an Accommodation;

modation; and accordingly a Treaty was concluded on both ſides, and confirm'd by Oath on that Spot of Ground, which was undermin'd; importing, "That the Agreement ſhould continue in force as long as the Earth on which "they ſtood ſhould remain in the preſent Condition: That the Barcæans ſhould pay a competent Tribute to the King, and that the "Perſians ſhould innovate nothing in *Barca*." Under the Faith of this Treaty the Barcæans opening their Gates, went frequently out of the City, and receiv'd all the Perſians who deſir'd to be admitted. But during this Intercourſe, the Perſians enter'd the Place with all their Forces; after they had broken down the Covering of the Trench they had made. Which they did, to free themſelves from the Obligation of the Oath they had taken to the Barcæans, "That the "Treaty ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long as the Earth "on which they ſtood ſhould continue in the "ſame Condition:" And ſuppos'd, that upon the Alteration they had made in that Place, they had likewiſe diſſolv'd the Force of their Engagement.

When the Perſians had thus ſurpriz'd the City, and put the Power into the Hands of *Pheretima*, ſhe caus'd thoſe who had been principally concern'd in the Death of *Arceſilaus*, to be impal'd round the Walls; and having cut off the Breaſts of their Wives, affix'd them about the ſame Places. She gave the Pillage of the other Inhabitants to the Perſians; excepting only the Battiades, who had not conſented to the Enterprize: And on that Account ſhe put them into Poſſeſſion of the City. The Perſians after

and this may be ſufficient to ſay concerning theſe things.

THE Perſians who were ſent by *Aryandes* from *Ægypt* to revenge the Quarrel of *Pheretima*, arriving before *Barca* laid Siege to the City, and by a Herald demanded thoſe Perſons who had been concern'd in the Death of *Arceſilaus*: But the Inhabitants having univerſally conſented to the Fact, refus'd to hearken to the Meſſage. And after the Beſiegers had been about nine Months before the Place, carrying on divers Mines towards the Walls, and uſing battering Engines of War; an Artificer in Braſs diſcover'd their Saps in this Manner. He carried a Shield of that Metal round the City within the Wall, and applying it to the Ground, heard no Noiſe where the Earth was ſolid: But when he came to the Parts that were undermin'd, the Braſs rung. Upon which diſcovery ſome of the Barcæans fell to countermining, and kill'd all the Perſians who were employ'd in the Mines. Whilſt others diſmounted their Engines. Much Time had been ſpent in the Siege; many of the Barcæans kill'd, and the Loſs of the Perſians no leſs conſiderable; when *Amaſis* General of the Army, finding he could not ſucceed by Force, reſolv'd to reduce the City by Fraud; and to that End contriv'd this Stratagem. He open'd a broad Trench in the Night, which he cover'd with ſlight Planks of Wood; and by ſpreading a Surface of Earth upon the Timber, rendred that Part equal to the adjoyning Ground. Early the next Morning he demanded a Conference with the Barcæans; which they readily accepted, becauſe they were deſirous to come to an Accommodation;

modation; and accordingly a Treaty was concluded on both ſides, and confirm'd by Oath on that Spot of Ground, which was undermin'd; importing, "That the Agreement ſhould con-"tinue in force as long as the Earth on which "they ſtood ſhould remain in the preſent Con-"dition: That the Barcæans ſhould pay a com-"petent Tribute to the King, and that the "Perſians ſhould innovate nothing in *Barca*." Under the Faith of this Treaty the Barcæans opening their Gates, went frequently out of the City, and receiv'd all the Perſians who deſir'd to be admitted. But during this Intercourſe, the Perſians enter'd the Place with all their Forces; after they had broken down the Covering of the Trench they had made. Which they did, to free themſelves from the Obligation of the Oath they had taken to the Barcæans, "That the "Treaty ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long as the Earth "on which they ſtood ſhould continue in the "ſame Condition:" And ſuppos'd, that upon the Alteration they had made in that Place, they had likewiſe diſſolv'd the Force of their Engagement.

When the Perſians had thus ſurpriz'd the City, and put the Power into the Hands of *Pheretima*, ſhe caus'd thoſe who had been principally concern'd in the Death of *Arceſilaus*, to be impal'd round the Walls; and having cut off the Breaſts of their Wives, affix'd them about the ſame Places. She gave the Pillage of the other Inhabitants to the Perſians; excepting only the Battiades, who had not conſented to the Enterprize: And on that Account ſhe put them into Poſſeſſion of the City. The Perſians after

after they had reduc'd the reſt to Servitude, march'd away; and when they arriv'd in the Territories of *Cyrene*, the Cyrenæans, in Obedience to ſome Oracle, permitted them to paſs freely. But as they paſs'd; *Bares*, who commanded the Naval Forces, endeavour'd to perſuade them to plunder the City: To which *Amaſis*, General of the Land Army, would not conſent; ſaying, He was ſent againſt no other Grecian City than that of *Barca*. Nevertheleſs when they had march'd thro' the Country, and were arriv'd at the Altar of the *Lycæan Jupiter*, they began to repent that they had not poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Cyrene*, and attempted to return thither. But tho' the Cyrenæans were not upon their Guard, nor had drawn out any Force to oppoſe them, the Perſians were ſtruck with a Panick Fear; and turning back again with great Precipitation, encamp'd at the Diſtance of about ſixty Stades. In this Camp they receiv'd an Order of *Aryandes* for their Return; and having deſir'd a Supply of Proviſions from the Cyrenæans, they obtain'd their Requeſt, and march'd away towards *Ægypt*. In their March they were continually harraſs'd by the Libyans; who, to get their Clothes and Baggage, kill'd all they found ſick or ſtraggling, 'till the Army arriv'd in *Ægypt*; after they had penetrated the fartheſt Part of *Libya* to the Country of the Eueſperides. The Barcæan Captives were ſent from *Ægypt* to King *Darius*; and by his Command ſettled in a Diſtrict of *Bactria*; which they afterwards call'd by the Name of *Barca*, and the Place is inhabited at this Time. Nevertheleſs

theleſs the End of *Pheretima* was not happy: For ſoon after ſhe had taken Revenge againſt the Barcæans, and was return'd to *Ægypt* from *Libya*, ſhe was eaten alive by Worms, and periſh'd miſerably. So odious to the Gods are the Exceſſes of human Vengeance. Such, and ſo exorbitant was the Cruelty exercis'd againſt the Barcæans by *Pheretima* the Daughter of *Battus*.

The End of the Fourth Book.

An

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